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Yugoslavia

Croatia—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met with President Franjo Tudjman to promote the UN peace plan and discuss future EC membership, according to Zagreb radio. Hamburg DPA reports that Genscher "rejected Croatian objections to the UN" peacekeeping plan. Tudjman described the issue of UN troop deployment "as an important condition for a political solution."

TANJUG reports that the assembly of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" in Knin "recalled its President Mile Paspalj and Vice-Presidents Ilija Djukic and Zdravko Zecevic." TANJUG notes that the Glina assembly, which is headed by Paspalj, late last week dismissed Babic and his followers in the republican government.

Bosnia-Hercegovina—Zagreb television reports that the republic will supply weapons to the Yugoslav Army as well as other "purchasers." Cooperation is expected with Croatia and "an agreement has been reached with the Croatian government on joint participation in domestic and international markets."

Pristina television reports that three basic conclusions were reached at the Lisbon talks attended by the major political parties of Bosnia-Hercegovina: First, Bosnia-Hercegovina "will be preserved within its existing borders"; second, "ethnic reasoning" will be applied in devising its internal organization with ethnic units having "a certain degree of autonomy." Third, EC patronage will continue and the EC will actively participate, "guaranteeing all agreements reached."

Hungary

The "national leadership" of the Independent Smallholders' Party "unanimously declared" the party's withdrawal from the ruling coalition, MTI reports. Party President Jozsef Torgyan said his party refused to play a role in the government's "nation-destroying" policy. The party leadership expelled the "Group of 33" parliamentary bloc. At a "national rally" held in Budapest the "Group of 33" agreed to "uphold" the ruling coalition and called on President Torgyna to resign. In another report MTI says Prime Minister Jozsef Antall expressed his "conviction" that the ruling coalition was "firm."

Poland

Warsaw television reports that an accord on a "joint assessment" of the "ecological damage caused by the stationing of Soviet Armed Forces" in Poland has been signed. The accord, signed by General Zdzislaw Ostrowski for Poland and General Viktor Dubinin for Russia, says that disagreements on compensation will be settled through "diplomatic channels" rather than the courts. "All" agreements, documents, and protocols on the former Soviet troops in Poland "will be finally sorted out and signed in February, or in March at the latest," Warsaw television reports.

Conference on Arms Conversion Held in Bratislava

Conference Opens

AU2102122492 Prague CSTK in English 1756 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Bratislava Feb 19 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today opened a three-day conference on the conversion of weapons plants to civilian production, saying his country "wants gradually to reduce weapons production, ... but not at the cost of economic catastrophe."

In the late 1980s, Czechoslovakia was one of the world's leading weapons exporters. 1987 saw a peak of 29,000 million crowns—1,000 million USD at the current exchange rate—worth of Czechoslovak-made arms shipped around the world.

Eighty-six enterprises in Czechoslovakia, including 36 in the Slovak Republic, are involved in manufacturing arms, according to Jan Jursa, an adviser to the Czechoslovak deputy foreign minister.

Organized by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the capital of the Slovak Republic, the event is the first of the CSCE's Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Center seminars to be held outside of Vienna.

Taking part in the seminar will be experts from CSCE member states as well as from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), and the U.N. Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).

The Czechoslovak delegation is headed by Slovak Deputy Economics Minister Stefan Petras.

In an interview with CSTK at the end of today's session, Felix Dorough of NATO described the problem of conversion as involving structural changes in industry, dependent on both the defense policy of the state in question and market conditions.

The problem can only be solved, he said, by the government of each country independently. Even the production and sale of tanks may be used to finance conversion of an arms industry, Dorough added.

Dienstbier Addresses Conference

LD1902190192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Shortly after 1500 today, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier opened a CSCE conference on conversion in the Bratislava Reduta club. CSCE representatives will be discussing behind closed doors the economic, social, and international aspects of conversion. Foreign Ministry press spokesman Egon Lansky has provided further details about Minister Dienstbier's opening speech.

[Begin Lansky recording] The idea is that conversion represents a problem for most of central and eastern European countries, that conversion, in fact, began under a previous regime, that the pressure exerted on Czechoslovakia in this respect by western countries should ensue from the fact that what we are doing here amounts to a huge transformation of the entire structure of our industry, and that we cannot carry out this (?transformation) at any cost and with immediate effect, that for this purpose we simply need both time, support, and help. Otherwise, naturally, we cannot execute this task at the cost of a catastrophic economic sacrifice.

Czechoslovakia has always had an armaments industry. Initially, it was based mainly in Bohemia and Moravia. In the fifties and sixties it was built up in Slovakia. The question is why was it built there and why is it that this problem of conversion has its own specific nature and dimension in Slovakia.

Dienstbier said that a number of measures have already been carried out in this sphere, that a number of conversion projects is already being implemented or is in the preparation stage. He also said that last year alone this government made a greater contribution to conversion projects than the previous government did over several preceding years and that conversion is a long-term process which we can implement only jointly by using the experience of CSCE member countries, because these countries possess not only experience but also economic and other prerequisites. He said that this is a problem concerning our whole continent and that as such it must be addressed.

Several hundred specific projects have been drafted and of those 125 were identified as deserving financial backing. Four-fifths of the sum of 1.5 billion korunas, which was earmarked for the conversion projects in Slovakia, have already been allocated for these 125 projects. Because there are still many projects which are a long way from ensuring comprehensive conversion, we will also be forced to seek funds outside our own resources, because we simply cannot cope with it. [end recording]

Russian, CSFR Delegations on Process

LD2002192892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] The three-day conference on conversion organized by the Vienna-based Center for the Prevention of Conflicts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe continued in Bratislava today. Jan Balascak reports:

[Begin Balascak recording] The conference is concentrating on a number of aspects of the conversion of the arms industry. This involves the question of how to plan defense while reducing military expenditure, as well as how to tackle social and economic consequences of the process of conversion. This problem goes beyond the borders of the European Continent when, according to

the representatives of the U.S. delegation, the U.S. Government wants to reduce its military budget by 37 percent by 1997 compared to 1985.

The Russian Federation delegation pointed out that in Russia the process of conversion is affecting up to 660 arms manufacturing plants, which is having a strong impact on the whole economy of the state.

The Czechoslovak delegation made a fundamental contribution to the discussion this afternoon by presenting a paper on the economic and social aspects of the conversion. It stressed that under Czechoslovak conditions the conversion is a part of the economic reform. It will also be part of the process of privatization when during a number of armaments enterprises are privatized in the second round of conversion.

The aim of the three-day conference is to map out problems connected with the conversion of arms production, prepare certain methodological options, and create a joint information system in this field. [end recording]

Dienstbier on 'Danger' of Inaction

LD2002123692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] The CSCE conference continues today on Bratislava. Jiri Dienstbier, the foreign minister, talks about its purpose.

[Dienstbier] They should really specifically discuss how to start the conversion. Up until now, there have been only studies and conferences. It is necessary to actually do something now. I think that the disintegration of the Soviet Union has accelerated the whole thing, because everybody realizes that this is not just a social issue but also a question of security for the West. If the limits of what is socially feasible are transgressed because the conversion has not happened, the situation could lead to disintegration—even if the danger of this happening in our country is smaller than in for example Russia, Ukraine, or other places—and a subsequent establishment of new dictatorships. They might no longer be of the communist type, but rather be authoritarian regimes which would again solve nothing at all and only create new epicenters of tension.

Conference Ends

AU2402112592 Prague CSTK in English 1600 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Bratislava Feb 21 (CSTK)—Slovak Minister for International Relations Pavol Demes today stressed that conversion is an international problem just as arms control. Speaking at the close of a three-day seminar on conversion of arms production in Central and Eastern Europe, Demes said that none of the countries of the former eastern bloc can hope to be successful in this sphere without cooperating with more experienced and economically more advanced western states. Demes said that Slovakia, the host of the seminar, is one of the first countries to realise how difficult and at the same time important the transition from arms to civil production is. The event was organised by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Centre. Czechoslovak delegates said the seminar, whose aim was not finding a solution to the problem of conversion, was successful. It revealed the incomparably different economic conditions for the process of conversion in the West and the East, they said.

Finance Minister Views U.S. Trip, IMF Talks

LD2202235692 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1830 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Interview with Finance Minister Robert Ceku by Anni Lamitri; place and date not given—recorded; Ceku speaks in Albanian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] We now invited you to listen to an interview with the Albanian finance minister, Mr. Robert Ceku, who is just back from a working trip to the United States. Speaking on his meetings in Washington, Mr. Ceku said:

[Ceku] The first and probably the most important meeting we had in Washington was that with Mr. Camdessus, president of the International Monetary Fund, and with Mr. Kamal Darwish, one of the major representatives of the World Bank dealing with East European affairs at the bank. It is also worth stressing a meeting we had with the U.S. Vice [as heard] Secretary of Treasury Mr. John Robson.

[Lamitri] What was the object of your talks?

[Ceku] Mr. Camdessus received us on his own request to become informed on the economic and political situation in Albania and to exchange opinions on the future of the country. I made a general presentation of the political and economic situation in Albania which he found very interesting, and not only he but the entire board of directors of the International Monetary Fund.

The talks focused on the ways to improve the situation in Albania. It is positive a fact [as heard] that Mr. Camdessus is very interested in Albania, something that was also confirmed by the board of directors. Mr. Camdessus has expressed his wish to visit Albania immediately after the elections.

The talks with Mr. Kamal Darwish of the World Bank focused on the aid to Albania. It was stressed that the golden key to receive aid from the World Bank is the International Monetary Fund, therefore the signing of the agreement with the International Monetary Fund is the key to open not only the doors of the World Bank but also those of the other European banks which today are closed to Albania due to the unsolved debts.

As far as the meeting with the U.S. Vice Secretary of Treasury John Robson, I can only say that the U.S. Treasury Department is very interested in the situation in Albania. In this meeting, too, we made a presentation of the political and economic situation in Albania and, more specifically, on the aid we were demanding from the United States to overcome this difficult economic situation.

Mr. Robson was well informed on our situation. He listened to us very carefully, made many questions, and could say that his position as a high official in the American Administration is very well-wishing towards Albania.

On our request and on the instruction of Mr. Camdessus, an International Monetary Fund delegation headed by its executive director, Mr. Renate Filosa, is expected to visit Albania soon. The aim of the mission is to prepare the commissions for the signing of a very important agreement I mentioned about between Albania and the International Monetary Fund so that the time until the elections be used efficiently and that all possible efforts be made to enable the signing of the agreement immediately after the elections.

[Lamitri] Is the result of the elections related to the aid from the International Monetary Fund and the United States?

[Ceku] I think yes, because if initiated economic and political reform will be hindered, then the International Monetary Fund has every reason to draw back and refuse to sign the agreement which has a crucial importance to our economy. I think that the aid we are expecting from the International Monetary Fund is closely related to the result of the elections. Likewise, after the meeting with Mr. Robson, U.S. vice secretary for treasury, I think that the United States will be supplying much more concrete aid to Albania than they did so far.

UN Envoy Claims Repression Intensifies in Kosovo

AU2202180992 Tirana ATA in English 1312 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Tirana, February 21 (ATA)—Yugoslav authorities have intensified the oppressive measures against the Albanians over 1991 and Kosovo is under the police occupation, the Albanian representative Kadri Cenko stated in his address in the 48th session of the UN Human Rights Commission which is holding proceedings in Geneva these days. He demanded from the commission to attentively examine the violation of the human rights in Yugoslavia and not to tolerate, as he said, practices of apartheid in the heart of the European continent on the eve of the 21st century.

The Albanian representative denounced the attacks against the right to life and security of the person in Kosova. Scores of thousand of Albanians in Yugoslavia have been tortured punished and barbarously, inhumanly and denigratingly treated, political processes are preceded, accompanied and followed with tortures towards the defendant and the prisoner, Cenko pointed out. Albanians are deprived of free thinking and speech, the Albanian representative said in his address and added that the persecution of the Albanians for merely ethnic and political reasons is continuous process.

The Albanians, Kadri Cenko said, are deprived of the right to information. Radio-TV of Pristina and the daily newspaper "RILINDJA" have long since been suspended and their reporters are thrown on the highway and many others are arrested or sentenced. The Albanians are deprived of the freedom of public meetings and manifestation.

The violation of the rights to work, he said further on, is flagrant in Kosovo, where unemployment is a heavy blow for the Albanians: one out of 10.7 Albanians is employed, whereas for the Serbs and Montenegrins it is one out of 4.5 and 3.5 respectively.

In Kosova, Cenko said, one observes grave violations and even privations of the right to education: Serbia has imposed the socalled "provisional actions" on the University of Pristina. The leading Albanian cadres are replaced by Serbs and Montenegrins. There are attempts, he said, to eliminate the national and cultural Albanian identity. Moreover, Kadri Cenko said, Yugoslavia is hindering the human contacts amongst the Albanians and has erected a real "Berlin Wall" between them and their relatives in Albania.

The situation is becoming increasingly embarrasing when bearing in mind the suspension of the parliament and Government of Kosovo and the full lack of the democratic and legal organs institutions and, the Albanian representative said. He aired his conviction that "there can be no real development of the human rights in a country where discrimination, oppression, obligatory assimilation and partial or full privation of the individual, collective and national rights of the Albanians have become a daily rule".

Socialist Party Protests 'Threats,' 'Obstacles'

AU2302144492 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 23 Feb 92

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Tirana, February 23 (ATA)—The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries today a protest of the Socialist Party [SP] of Albania to the president of the Republic, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the chairman of the Central Election Commission about the incorrect atmosphere in which the electoral campaign has started. The protest mentions cases of threats and obstacles created in the meetings of the leaders of the SP with its members and sympathisers.

Widespread Unemployment in Kukes Reported

AU2302194692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Report by Hamza Sinani]

[Text] February is ending and there is no work in virtually all of the economic enterprises in Kukes District. Every day the streets are filled with unemployed people. Everyone you talk with says he wants to work. The Kukes construction enterprises are not operating. The copper smelting plant stopped work more than two months ago for two reasons: a lack of coal and increased workers' demands. The Kalimash chrome mine resumed work recently but not at full capacity, although one year ago it produced several tonnes over its target. The Assorted Goods Production Enterprise also suspended work a long time ago because of a shortage of woolen and cotton thread. The geological enterprise and some other sectors in this district have also closed down.

Halit Budica, chief of the Industrial Section, told us that at present more than 4,000 workers are being paid 80 percent of their wages. This policy will continue because enterprises are not receiving the raw materials needed for production. Enterprise management is also exhibiting a lack of interest in and responsibility for rectifying this situation.

The enterprises are not working, yet many directors are living off the gains of past years and buying cars with enterprise funds. This is simply to satisfy the wishes of the bosses, because, as they think, the enterprise will close down anyway and the directors will buy the cars at one quarter of their purchase price. This cannot fail to annoy the workers, because it is done at their expense.

Savov Returns From Council of Europe Conference

AU2402103992 Sofia BTA in English 0921 GMT 24 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—Mr. Stefan Savov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, returned from Strasbourg where he took part in the conference of the chairmen of the parliaments of the full-member and specially invited states of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

At the Sofia airport he expressed his satisfaction with the meetings he had there. He assessed his talks with Prof. Dr. Rita Suessmuth, president of the Bundestag, and with Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czecho-Slovakia, as exceptionally important. The new attitude to Bulgaria as a country which has embarked on the road to democracy is meaningful. This attitude strengthened our conviction that Bulgaria will be accepted as a full member of the Council of Europe on May 7, 1992, the chairman of the National Assembly said.

Mr. Stefan Savov said that unfortunately he had also observed the results of the attempts of some Bulgarian representatives to present Bulgaria to world public opinion as a country in which there are "witch-hunts." These attempts cannot have adverse repercussions, all the more so that there are no such things in Bulgaria.

Asked about his forthcoming trips abroad, Mr. Stefan Savov said that he is to visit Great Britain at the invitation of the speaker of the British Parliament. This will be the first visit by a chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly to London since 1938.

BSP's Videnov, Dimitrov Discuss Charges

AU2102182592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] The Press Center of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has reported that BSP leader Zhan Videnov had a meeting at his request with Snezhana Botusharova, deputy chairman of the National Assembly; Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov; Chief Prosecutor Ivan Tatarchev; and Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov.

The main question that Zhan Videnov raised was whether the state organs have any information available that confirms the assertions made in the declaration of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] concerning illegal acts against the institutions of state and the statements made in the declaration that describe the BSP as a terrorist organization.

During the talks, Snezhana Botusharova, Filip Dimitrov, Ivan Tatarchev, and Yordan Sokolov categorically declared that they knew of no such information.

The BSP leader made a strong request that all tip-offs concerning such activities should be investigated and that the facts established from such investigations should be made public, because the BSP is most interested in clarity on this question, according to Zhan Videnov.

SDS Rally Adopts Declaration Against BSP

AU2202205092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] A rally opened in Ruse an hour ago under the motto: Democracy or communism, for or against the reform? Members of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] participated.

The declaration adopted by the rally participants states that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] cynically accuses the government of inability to govern—when the economic situation has been brought to the verge of disaster precisely because of BSP rule. The declaration states that if the BSP continues to act in this manner, all necessary measures, including legislation, will be taken to stop its destructive policy.

Demands Ban on BSP

AU2202205492 Sofia BTA in English 1521 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—"Ban BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] (former BCP) [Bulgarian Communist Party]"; "Outlaw BCP"; "BSP in the Dock," chanted the thousands of participants in today's rally called by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) under the motto "No Turning Back." The chants came as a reaction to statements by representatives of the ruling coalition who said that BSP quarters are trying to destabilize the situation in Bulgaria.

At the rally Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev cited an example of what he called "conspiratorial" actions involving BSP leaders. BSP activists are working feverishly to provoke an emergency situation in Bulgaria, said the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Mr. Ahmed Dogan.

The rally demonstrated sympathy and support for the government. Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov drew applause and chants of approval when he said that "this government can do its job and does not intend to resign." Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov was also warmly welcomed when he took the floor.

The leader of the mostly ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms Mr. Ahmed Dogan was greeted by chants of unity. He said that the DPS was a loyal ally of the SDS. The ban of the BSP would guarantee the country's decommunization, Mr. Dogan said.

The rally was also addressed by the new leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Mrs. Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser, and the leader of the Union for a Turnovo Constitution, Mr. Yanko Yankov. No one spoke on behalf of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, which until recently held an observer status at the SDS

and which has criticized the government for a delay of the structural adjustment of the economy.

Prime Minister Meets With Trade Union Leaders

AU2102202492 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] At the Council of Ministers session today, representatives of the central trade union organizations and cabinet members met. Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and Ministers Ivan Kostov and Vekil Vanov took part in the meeting.

At the meeting, the IMF view—that by the end of this year inflation in Bulgaria must be reduced to 2 percent, no matter at what cost—was made clear. At the same time, it was noted that wages had increased almost one and a half times over the past year, which did nothing to help reduce inflation. World Bank specialists have stated that Bulgaria is one of the leading countries with working pensioners; this raises the question of choosing between a pension or a salary. An answer to this question must be found before 30 March.

Although the meeting was not attended by representatives of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, it became clear from the statements made by KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] Chairman Prof. Krustyu Petkov and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov that the dialogue will be continued in the second half of next week.

KNSB Congress Considers Strategy, Organization

AU2202213092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Telephone report by Petur Donchev on the congress of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria in Pleven—live]

[Text] During the afternoon session, a debate took place on the introductory report by Professor Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB]. The statements by the delegates revealed their concern over resolving the problems of the individual federations and trade union organizations. At the same time, criticism was leveled at the KNSB leadership for not intervening sufficiently to settle certain problems facing enterprises, companies, and official departments.

Another issue, which I would like to stress, was whether the KNSB leadership should resolve tasks that lie within the competence of the federations themselves. In this way, an almost paradoxical situation evolved. On the one hand, certain delegates more or less accused the leadership of centralism; while on the other hand, it became clear they were unable to resolve the problems at lower levels. I wonder if this was not an attempt to conceal their helplessness by passing the buck. The congress will answer this question in its resolutions. The debate concluded.

Petkov raised the issues of KNSB strategy and future policy. He spoke of the conclusions made at his meeting yesterday in the Council of Ministers and suggested that it would be advantageous for the congress to approve a resolution on the government proposal regarding social partnership. The congress, he said, will provide tactical weapons for the new leadership in four primary directions: wages and real incomes, unemployment, privatization and restitution, and the land issue. In the meantime, discussions on draft amendments and additions to the confederation Constitution have begun.

Finally, I must not forget to mention that during this afternoon's session special attention was given to the need for structural changes in the organization. If this is not done, some speakers said, we will disappear as an organization. This view was shared by the KNSB president. Incidentally, these words conceal a great truth, dictated by the tasks that the KNSB has to resolve in the future. The congress will continue tomorrow.

Agrarian Union Leader Interviewed Before Congress

AU2102124592 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 14 Feb 92 pp 1,2

[Interview with Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser, leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union by Zhechka Danailova; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Mrs. Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser is already quite well known, not only as the daughter of Dr. G.M. Dimitrov, the prestigious agrarian leader, but for all she has done for Bulgaria. On 13 February, she flew in again, invited to participate in the forthcoming Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [Nikola Petkov BZNS] Congress. [passage omitted]

[Danailova] Mrs. Moser, were you happy with being met by so many people on your arrival in Bulgaria? Do you know that you are to be nominated as a candidate for the post of chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov BZNS? Will you accept this post?

[Moser] I always am very happy to return as I have many relatives and friends here. I have already been back three or four times, but I am just as happy now. I have arrived just this minute and am not fully acquainted with the details of the comgress' preparations; I plan to hold talks on these matters. I will meet shortly with the permanent board of the Nikola Petkov BZNS to discuss the organization's problems. First of all, they will discuss many issues connected with the congress.

[Danailova] In your opinion will talks continue on uniting with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United], and on a common future for the Agrarian Union?

[Moser] Yes, I strongly believe in this. We must talk to the other Agrarian Union and have contacts them; we must achieve a genuine unity based on strong foundations. This must be done to restore the organization's prestige. This is the most important issue because the organization must regain the place it held before it became the opposition. This is also very important for the organization's future because it cannot exist with its past reputation. This is a continuing process, however, and, we hope, one that will succeed.

[Danailova] The union's members suffered a great deal from the squabbles and the split in the agrarian movement. Our country needs a stable Agrarian Union.

[Moser] This is in everybody's interest, in the interest of democracy in Bulgaria. There is no argument about the question of democratic principles in the Nikola Petkov BZNS; they have been proved. People have suffered for and championed a courageous position during these years. The agrarian organization must preserve the same image in the future. [passage omitted]

Party Officials Elected

AU2302161692 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] In Sofia today the Ruling Council of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] met under the chairmanship of its chief union secretary, Anastasiya Dimitrova-Moser. The council, whose membership was approved by the 27th Extraordinary Congress of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, elected Stoyan Khristov as its chairman by secret ballot.

The council also elected a new nine-member Permanent Board for the union, including Georgi Pinchev, Stefan Lichev, Matey Astardzhiev, Petko Iliev, among others.

Iliya Danov, formerly deputy chief editor, was elected editor in chief of the newspaper NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME.

At the meeting, an appeal was made to the BZNS-United to acknowledge as illegitimate the 8-9 May 1945 conference which created the official BZNS—the precursor of the BZNS-United that was an ally of the Bulgarian Communist Party under the totalitarian regime.

Later, at a meeting with the Supreme Union Council of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Youth Union, a discussion was held on ways and means to attract more young people to the Agrarian Youth Union.

Industry Minister Outlines Major Changes for 1992

AU2102164392 Sofia BTA in English 1547 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—In an extensive report Minister of Industry and Trade Ivan Pushkarov sets forth his views on the major aspects of the structural adjustment of industry and trade in 1992.

The minister sets a high priority on the completion of the demonopolization and the decentralization of state companies, which started in July 1991. So far 140 state-owned companies have been transformed into 220 joint-stock companies and 900 limited liability companies with state property. According to the report, there are 37 companies in the printing industry and 5 in the military industry in which these process will be carried out in 1992.

The second aspect is the privatization of state-owned enterprises. In view of expectations that this process will take longer time and that the privatization act has not been enacted yet, Mr. Pushkarov says that a special programme will be drawn up for the preparation of state companies for privatization. The report points out that facilities under construction can quickly be privatized.

Unviable enterprises will be restructured or liquidated. State guarantees will be given for the debts of state-owned enterprises.

The report also lists incentives for the setting up and development of private businesses, mainly in the nature of consultations, observation and analyses of their condition.

Agricultural Minister Details Reform Measures

AU2102152792 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—A law on the protection of agriculture should be passed but only after the voting of the amendments to the Land Act and to the Cooperatives Act, Mr. Stanislav Dimitrov, minister of agriculture, said in parliament today, answering an interpellation on the measures envisaged by his ministry for stepping up the reform in agriculture.

According to the minister of agriculture, the role of the state in farming should not be ignored, especially in the period of transition to a market economy. But Mr. Dimitrov also expressed the opinion that the interference of the state should be restricted only to some farm produce—grain, meat and milk.

By the end of March the Ministry of Agriculture will submit to the government a purpose-oriented programme on the development of agriculture comprising a number of measures for encouraging private producers. The government is expected to grant 40 million leva to agriculture.

Pithart Interviewed on Coexistence With Slovaks

AU2402110092 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
24 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Karl-Peter Schwarz; place and date not given: "A House With Separate Entrances"]

[Text] [Schwarz] Mr. Prime Minister, after two years the Czecho-Slovak negotiations on the future shape of the federation have become completely deadlocked.

[Pithart] The quarrel has its roots in the fact that this federation was formed in an atypical way and under extraordinary circumstances, namely by dividing the unified state five weeks after the Soviet occupation. The Czech side is stressing the continuity of this federation, the Slovak side is willing to go beyond the framework of the current Constitution so as to correct the founding of this federation, which was not particularly democratic. This is the nucleus of the conflict, which is not always obvious. As yet, this quarrel has not awakened nationalist passions, as it has done in the south and the east of our country.

[Schwarz] However, this danger exists.

[Pithart] I can certainly imagine that national passions will dominate the political stage at some time in the future. What will happen if one side violates the Constitution, which dates back to the communists and is extremely impractical? What would happen if the two republics separated? Of course, one can imagine a correct separation, during which both sides come to an agreement and add up all the property bit by bit and divide it.

However, a trade war might also develop. We get oil and gas from Slovakia, the Slovaks get 20 percent of their electrical energy requirements from us. It would also be possible for things to get even worse, but hopefully it is unnecessary to talk about that.

[Schwarz] So far the Czechs have put an alternative to the Slovaks—either accept the existing federation or leave it. You are the first Czech politician to indicate the readiness to negotiate about other forms of coexistence.

[Pithart] I am still convinced that a large majority of the Slovaks want a common state, but in a looser form of association. The Czechs and the Federation organs think that such a unit would not be viable. In this connection, I have spoken of a semi-detached house with separate entrances. By this I mean being close neighbors, which could no longer be described by the term federation. Everyone immediately thinks of a confederation in this connection. Of course, I am aware of the fact that at present this would be a strange solution not only for Europe but for the entire world, either a transition stage toward complete separation or a roundabout way toward forming a new federation. With my metaphor of the semi-detached house I wanted to signal to the Slovaks that we do not want to turn away from them, not even if no agreement can be reached about the existing federation.

[Schwarz] The semi-detached house can hardly be realized within the framework of the existing Constitution.

[Pithart] No, but one can change the Constitution. What I want is to show the Slovaks that we are not the prisoners of a black and white pattern. There are also other possibilities, not just the alternative between federation and hostility.

[Schwarz] May one understand this as implied criticism of the negotiations so far, which have been led by the president of the Czech National Council?

[Pithart] ...No, it was necessary to exhaust all possibilities. This might have happened now. We had to follow this path to its end, in order to look around whether there might be other paths available.

[Schwarz] The magazine PRITOMNOST, which is close to you, recently published an article which relentlessly criticized the Czechs' fixation on a common state.

[Pithart] I am afraid that this idea is still very widespread, even though it is not always formulated clearly. There are three reasons for that. First, there is an obsolete, sentimental, erroneous, and hypocritical "Czechoslovakism," which is in love with itself and simply does not understand that it is completely unacceptable to the Slovaks. Second, there are technocrats in the economic field, who trivialize the world and reject as irrational everything that does not correspond to their concept of a functioning economy. This is an extremely flat, reductional image of the world. And third, there is a plebeian distrust toward the state and its institutions, inherent in the Czech character. People are shocked that there are three governments and three parliaments; one government alone is even considered too much. These are relics of our relations with Austria, against which Masaryk already struggled and which, paradoxically, solidified further under the totalitarian regime. Linked with widespread ignorance, this creates a strong foundation on which the ideas of a common state are based.

[Schwarz] Not only in Slovakia but also in Moravia people suffer because of this.

[Pithart] In the case of Moravia other geopolitical and historical circumstances also have an effect. Moravia, the margraviate, was always polycentric. Bohemia, the kingdom, always had only one center, namely Prague; there were never any attempts to form other political, cultural, or intellectual centers. Moravia's concerns are not understood in Prague at all; at best one would be willing to concede a similarly centrist structure to Moravia as exits in Bohemia. Regarding the prospects, I see Moravia's polycentrism as a big advantage. There always were several centers there—not only Brno, but also Olomouc, Opava, Jihlava, Kromeriz; then there were the new dynamic centers of Ostrava and Zlin. The

problem is difficult to solve, because it is not only one between Bohemia and Moravia, but involves the situation in Moravia itself.

[Schwarz] This week the German-Czechoslovak neighborhood treaty will be signed in Prague. Property issues have been expressly excluded from this treaty. Now the CSFR parliament has passed an amendment to a law, thus creating for the first time the possibility of paying compensation to the German minority who lost their land because of the presidential decrees in 1945. Is it intended to also return property that was expropriated before the communist putsch in February 1948?

[Pithart] No. There is no connection with the treaty, either, but the issue is correcting an injustice which was committed in individual cases against members of the German and the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia. In the course of the negotiations for the treaty, President Vaclav Havel offered all Sudeten Germans the chance to return to their homeland, provided that the German side, too, draws a thick line under the past, which we want so much. This offer was not accepted; the German public was not even sufficiently informed about it. I do not underestimate the difficulties that the German side would have had if it had accepted our proposal, but they would have been incomparably smaller than the difficulties that we have now marked out for the future. The favor of the hour has been missed and this is a pity.

Czech Parliament Amends Law on Elections

LD2002141292 Prague CSTK in English 1347 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CSTK)—The Czech parliament today passed an amendment to the law on elections, according to which parties in a coalition will require fewer votes to be represented in parliament.

Two parties in a coalition may enter the Czech parliament if together they receive at least seven percent of the vote, and three parties in a coalition must receive nine percent. Coalitions of four or more parties must receive eleven percent of the vote before receiving parliamentary mandates. The requirement for a single party—at least five percent of the vote—remains unchanged.

Earlier, the five percent rule applied to all parties, regardless of whether they were part of a coalition.

The election requirements for parties to be represented in the Federal Assembly (parliament) slightly differ from those of the new Czech law. To be represented in the federal parliament a single party must receive at least five percent of the vote, a coalition of two or three parties must receive seven percent, and coalitions of four or more parties must receive ten percent.

Carnogursky Discusses U.S. Talks, Other Issues

LD2302180892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Lubomir Lintner; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lintner] [passage omitted] This week you had a meeting with the ambassador of the United States of America and the ambassador of Israel. During these conversations did you also discuss the report prepared by the U.S. cabinet which is not very flattering about the observation of human rights in Slovakia and about existing manifestations of anti-Semitism?

[Carnogursky] I should like first of all to make it clear that reports that have appeared in our press about the report drawn up by the U.S. State Department for the U.S. Congress were not accurate in that they highlighted, let us say, only the negative sections of that report concerning Slovakia, which were not representative of the whole report; and on the other hand they did not highlight the positive section of that report. I have asked for the whole relevant section of that report concerning Czechoslovakia, and here I have to say that the report was balanced. In my conversation with the U.S. ambassador I also mentioned that report. In the section about the position of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, the report does not cite its own assertions but merely refers to claims made by others. I have invited the U.S. ambassador as well as other U.S. officials to come to Slovakia and find out for themselves what is the state of the observation of human rights here, and in particular the observation of the rights of ethnic minorities.

Regarding the manifestations of anti-Semitism, I have informed the ambassador that they involved individual acts which are rather marginal in our society, and by the way I also informed her that a criminal proceeding is being conducted in Slovakia against the publishers of the book *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The Slovak government will not look with indifference on such manifestations should they occur in the future.

[Lintner] Prime Minister, the hydro project at Gabcikovo has once again become the focus of interest, but regrettably not in the sense of a fundamental decision, because the focus is on the attitude of the Hungarian government which is considering the abrogation of the inter-state treaty of 1977 on the construction of water barrages on the Danube. What is your view on this voice from Budapest?

[Carnogursky] The treaty of 1977 on the construction of water barrages cannot be abrogated, in the sense that it includes a specific article on the matter. This is the customary provision in treaties of this kind which require such large investment. Should the Hungarian side abrogate the treaty, it would be a clear-cut and formal violation of the treaty, and it would seem to me

that it would then be clear to everyone that Czechoslovakia and the Slovak government have no other option but to put the Gabcikovo project into operation on our territory in its temporary variant.

[Lintner] A stir concerning our relations with Hungary has also been caused by the statement made by Lajos Fur, the Hungarian defense minister, on the duty of Hungary to defend the Hungarian minority in the Carpathian basin. To put it more accurately, this controversial idea reads as follows: In the present specific period of transition it is necessary to make use of all legitimate and diplomatic means to end the threat to Hungarian minorities and to insure conditions to preserve them. Can the words "to end the threat to Hungarian minorities" be accepted in connection with Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] The Hungarian minority in Slovakia is not under a threat. They are represented in the parliament. They are even represented in the government and I have to say that during my conversations with representatives of the Hungarian Republic these representatives have not advanced objections and complaints about the position of the Hungarian minority here in Slovakia.

Viewing in general the remarks of the type used by the Hungarian defense minister, they are not good remarks especially during this crisis period when armed clashes are occuring in various places of the former communist bloc. It would therefore be a good thing if government representative refrained from making such statements.

[Litner] In this connection I would be interested in your view, prime minister, about indications that some links exist in the attitudes of politicians in Hungary and the Czech Republic. Understanding for the emancipation attempts in Slovakia is no longer felt among all people in the Czech lands. Concerns are also expressed on the Hungarian side about the fate of the Hungarian minority. What is your reaction?

[Carnogursky] In world politics and diplomacy a classical structure has been created on many occasions in which states or political movements and politicians cooperate with political movements and politicians of a third state against another one. I say that this sometimes occurs in politics and diplomacy. This is not however a good structure of mutual relations. I should like to draw attention to my speech at the meeting in Kosice during my visit about a month ago, when I precisely pointed out that Slovaks and Czechs can have disputes with each other; we can conduct lengthy debates about such disputes, but we should not ally ourselves with a third party against the other side.

I talked about this subject with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart on one occasion. I pointed out to him that should attitudes manifest themselves on the Czech side which would tend to support Hungarian attitudes against Slovak ones then, should a conflict arise, this would have a very bad impact on the cohesion between both republics. He is fully aware of this, and no such attitudes occurred on the part of the Czech government, and I believe in general that this also applies to Czech politics. I cannot recall any such attitude, although perhaps attempts to support the Hungarian stance on the Gabcikovo project have manifested themselves in some press articles. These are however rather isolated expressions.

[Lintner] At the start of this week, 300 days have elapsed since you took up the office as Slovak prime minister. Which period has been the most difficult for you so far, or is the most difficult one still ahead of you and indeed us? Your television appearance last Thursday [13 February] was really appeal-making.

[Carnogursky] I believe I have already mentioned before that I regard the whole activity to date as an exciting adventure which on the whole has been nice, and the same applies to my conduct in the government, and from this viewpoint I cannot distinguish which part of my existing role in the office of prime minister has been more or less difficult or nicer or less nice. [passage omitted]

[Lintner] And now could you give us more ideas about the background to why you have appeared before television viewers?

[Carnogursky] I believe that the situation in the state is realy such that it demanded an appearance and, as you have said, also drawing people's attention to it and making an appeal.

[Lintner] At the end of my meeting with you, I should like to stop at the subject which is hanging in the air this week and it is the situation in the Christian Democratic Movement. It concerns next Saturday's meeting of the council of your political grouping in Vranov. There are questions about its course, its results and in particular its influence on internal political development. With what kind of sentiments will you be going to Vranov?

[Carnogursky] With the sentiments and endeavor to find in Vranov a wise way out. I remember that, when we were children facing school examinations, parents used to accompany us from our home and when parting they wished that the Holy Spirit would enlighten us. I shall be leaving for Vranov with the same wish.

[Lintner] Do you think that this will be enough?

[Carnogursky] [laughing] With the help of the Holy Spirit, and naturally with the help of the analysis of the existing situation of our possibilities, options and chances, it ought to be enough.

Carnogursky Rules Out Secession Before Elections

AU2002171692 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2105 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Studio interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Elmar Oberhauser—live, in German]

[Text] [Oberhauser] Mr. Prime Minister, you did not make clear statements concerning a possible secession of Slovakia and future independence during your news conference in Vienna today. How likely is it that this will happen? You stated that secession has become more likely. Can you be more specific? Do you assume that secession is unavoidable, or is this still uncertain?

[Carnogursky] As a matter of fact, the situation is still uncertain. Everybody in the CSFR, including Slovakia, is aware of the risks the country would be facing if secession were take place.

[Oberhauser] Do you consider a division likely or unlikely?

[Carnogursky] We are not expecting it before the elections. If the political parties that support secession or something similar are successful in the elections, the likelihood might increase.

[Oberhauser] I carried out some investigations in this connection. I discovered that the leader of your opposing party—you head the Christian Democratic Party—advocates secession very strongly, and that this party stands better chances in the June elections. Do you share this view?

[Carnogursky] Yes, this is the case at the moment. However, elections will not take place before June.

[Oberhauser] Does this mean that you believe that you might catch up again?

[Carnogursky] Yes, I do.

[Oberhauser] Slovakia is considered the poorer and the economically weaker part of the CSFR. Why, in view of this fact, is your country striving for independence? What is the reason?

[Carnogursky] The Slovaks are an independent nation. As a nation, we want a more independent status, like other peoples. In addition, some people claim that the economic problems that Slovakia is currently facing are linked with the present structure of the CSFR.

[Oberhauser] Thus, you—or those who advocate secession, to be more precise—proceed from the assumption that economic survival is possible after secession, or that the situation might even improve.

[Carnogursky] Yes. We will definitely survive.

[Oberhauser] Do you support complete secession, or do you consider some kind of confederation, some kind of loose union, conceivable as well?

[Carnogursky] This will also depend on the position of the Czech side, of the Czech political representation, because during the negotiations on a corresponding treaty and the new constitution of the CSFR, the Czech representation has so far always suggested a close federation or complete secession.

[Oberhauser] This treaty has not come about. Will there be another attempt to draft such a treaty, or is there no longer a basis for talks?

[Carnogursky] The Slovak National Council will convene next week. If this session provides new impulses for talks, new negotiations might start. If not, no new talks will take place until elections.

[Oberhauser] Mr. Prime Minister, in our neighboring country Yugoslavia, the secession of the individual republics has led to terrible conflicts. What will happen in your country? Might a war break out as well if Slovakia decides that it wants to become independent, or will this development be peaceful?

[Carnogursky] No, there will be no war. There are no territorial or ethnic problems between the Czech and the Slovak Republics. There are no mixed territories. In addition, the Czechoslovak Army would not be used within the country. However, we can expect political and economic problems.

[Oberhauser] I hope that this will not be the case. No matter what decision is made, I hope that it will be a peaceful decision, and that secession will be peaceful if you vote in favor of it. Thank you for your visit. Good night.

[Carnogursky] Thank you.

Miklosko on Consequences of Treaty's Rejection

AU2102135392 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Feb 92 p 3

[Third installment of interview with Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, by Julius Gembicky; place and date not given: "Intoxication by Preelection Games"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Gembicky] What impact will the contradictory voting by Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] deputies in the Slovak National Council Presidium [on the Draft Treaty on the Principles of the Constitutional Setup of the Common State] have on the KDH's unity?

[Miklosko] At the Saturday [22 February] meeting of the KDH Council, the dispute will inevitably lead to polarization. This polarization is already evident in the districts. The Senica district, for example, sides clearly with Jan Carnogursky, the KDH District Assembly in Zilina, on the other hand, endorsed Jan Klepac's position. The KDH will thus have to decide whether to bring this dispute to an end before the elections, and to which end, or whether to seek some modus vivendi and try to find a compromise so that the movement stays united until the elections. Both options have their advantages but also disadvantages. A split in the KDH Club of Deputies in parliament could deprive the coalition of its fragile majority. It would be an inscrutable step, even though the fall of the government and of the Slovak National

Council Presidium three months before the elections would not necessarily signify their pre-election defeat. It is a coin to which there are two sides. It is therefore necessary to responsibly consider whether we can afford the luxury of such a crisis.

[Gembicky] Should, for example, the demand for the government's dismissal be raised, what would the pre-election provisional arrangement look like?

[Miklosko] We would be facing the threat of a situation that would lead this society into a blind alley. What makes democracy a democracy just would not be here. Should the KDH split and the coalition break apart, the appointment of a new government would become an enormous problem. One part of the KDH would probably join the opposition, be it the Slovak National Party or the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. If the opposition refused to assume responsibility and form a government, the present social situation would be destabilized. What are the options ahead of us? One of them is that the KDH Council will give support to the prime minister by placing its deputies under an obligation to vote for the draft treaty in the Slovak National Council plenum. This could be a feasible solution for the movement, which probably could not work in the long run. If this did not happen, however, and if, moreover, not a single [Slovak] opposition force endorsed the treaty, it probably would not stand a chance of being passed by the Federal Assembly either, because a qualified majority is needed there to pass all constitutional laws. If this draft does not pass, the fact will have to be acknowledged that no agreement was reached due to the different standpoints of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council.

[Gembicky] What will happen in those three months prior to the elections?

[Miklosko] The threat of a unilateral step by the Slovak National Council in the form of a declaration of sovereignty has always been hovering over us. As such a declaration has not been adopted previously, on the ground that the constitutions should be adopted first, the question arises whether the Slovak National Council would not unilaterally adopt the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. Personally, I am of the opinion that this will not happen as no party will dare take such a risky step before the elections. I therefore assume that the opposition will be content with the treaty not being passed and that it will even go into the elections with a program that will not be a program for dividing the state.

[Gembicky] What was the response in Prague to the 10 to 10 vote in the Slovak National Council Presidium?

[Miklosko] It caused commotion and the Czech side has perhaps realized that the situation is really serious. Even after talking to the president, I saw no reason to call an extraordinary meeting of the Slovak National Council. We have agreed with representatives of the Czech political scene and with the head of state that the situation should remain unchanged until the elections and that no risky experiments should be undertaken. The fact that we did not come to an agreement will have an unpropitious effect as Czech- Slovak relations will cool off and as it also signifies loss of interest in the federation. Even elections to the Federal Assembly could be endangered because political parties could give priority to elections to the national parliaments, signs of which can be seen already. This could result in a different composition of political parties in the national parliaments and in the Federal Assembly, which could bring about enormous problems in coexistence. We are facing such a danger at this moment.

[Gembicky] You said recently that you are facing a dilemma and that in a week or two you would decide on whose list of candidates you will run....

[Miklosko] Please, be a bit more patient with me. I make no secret of the fact that in the dispute within the KDH I clearly stand on the side of Jan Carnogursky. I know his personal history and his views and I also know that he is the guarantee that the KDH will become a modern conservative party, a kind of party which every European country needs. A party pursuing such a policy, a policy that has already proven its viability in advanced countries such as Italy or Germany, could deal with problems in a way that would make it acceptable to the whole society.

Slovak National Party Blames Czechs Over Talks

LD2002210692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Report by Igor Seba on press conference given by unidentified representative of the Slovak National Party in Prague on 19 February]

[Text] Journalists were acquainted with two main statements. In the first, on the constitutional talks, the Slovak National Party said that the talks on the state treaty were at an impasse as a result of the unbending and uncompromising attitude of Czech political representatives who have been defending the position of a unitary arrangement of the Czechoslovak state. The concept of the treaty that was submitted, according to them, was a retreat to the state that existed before 1968 and the consent given by the Civic Democratic Union [PAV], Democratic Party, and a section of the Christian Democratic Movement to that text could be qualified as a betrayal of national interests. The retreat from the form of a legally binding document and the attempt to turn the treaty into a legislative initiative can be understood as a collapse of the policy which was promoted in the election with the slogan: A chance for Slovakia.

The second statement concerns the concept of the defense of Hungarian interests put forward recently by Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur. According to him, the defense of the Hungarian nation in the whole of the Carpathian basin is the role of the Hungarian Army. We are convinced, the statement says, that this is a gross interference in internal affairs and that the Hungarian

defense minister should, above all, look after the interests of the Hungarian state and leave the care of the citizens of another state to the parliaments and governments of those whose concern it is or, as the case may be, to the international community.

The Slovak National Party regards the questions being aired currently in connection with Vladimir Meciar as typically post-November ones and puts them among misinformation campaigns launched by the federal television and radio. According to them, leaflets calling for the gathering of weapons should be investigated. In principle, however, they regard them as a political provocation.

Slovak National Party Deputy Opposed to Treaty

LD2102201292 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Interview with Slovak National Council Deputy Vladimir Miskovsky by correspondent Igor Matlon in Bratislava; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Matlon] Next week, the Slovak parliament will apparently debate the text of the treaty agreed in Milovy. It is already apparent that your deputies will be voting against that text. What kind of text would be acceptable to the Slovak National Party?

[Miskovsky] It seems to me that it is not at all clear that a vote on the matter will take place. This is because item four on the agenda to the meeting has the word information, although there are indications that certain coalition political parties will want to take a vote. I wish to point out that the matter did not get through the committees and therefore the Presidium or a section of it are once again arrogating to themselves rights which do not belong to them. The principle of a treaty is alien to the Slovak National Party. This idea was advanced by the Christian Democratic Movement and this is this party which is, in effect, underpinning it. We have proposed adopting a course, which we also put forward in the draft of the constitution, toward sovereignty and a Slovak referendum on whether we want to live with someone else in some kind of a union.

[Matlon] Therefore, if the majority of citizens vote in favor of cohabitation with the Czech Republic what changes would you propose in the existing text?

[MiskoVsky] The existing text is absolutely inappropriate for this role. In essence, it does not have the character of a treaty and it even runs counter to two resolutions passed by the Slovak parliamentary plenum which set in unequivocal terms the parameters of the possible treaty. The main issue is who is to be party to the treaty, what is its legal character, what has the right to abrogate it, and what are the sanctions, all of which are lacking in the existing draft. These issues have been substituted, for instance, by some kind of amorphous wording. The unitary constitution of 1960 begins in the same way: We the working people... and therefore only a cosmetic change has been made.

[Matlon] Your colleague, Deputy Hrnko, described the television address by Premier Carnogursky as a swan song of promises and at the same time as a defense of the text drawn up in Milovy, which Mr. Hrnko described as a concession to the Czech side.

[Miskovsky] I look at it from a different aspect, not from the aspect of the content. How is it at all possible that a several-minutes-long speech by the prime minister was broadcast suddenly on Slovak television, which is a public institution, which in this instance, in fact, represented his personal viewpoint or the viewpoint of a section of the Christian Democratic Movement? It seems to me that the other section of the Christian Democratic Movement and the opponents of the treaty should be given the same air time. This constitutes a return to the old times when officials were able to go on television at any time and tell the nation what they wanted. From my viewpoint, this is inadmissible if we are to create a state based on the rule of law and democratic culture in this country.

[Matlon] The Council of the Christian Democratic Movement will be meeting in Vranov nad Toplou this weekend. Its results will apparently indicate a great many things.

[Miskovsky] To put it in one sentence, I believe that when facing a further problem, the Christian Democratic Movement will no longer be able to escape from it.

Social Democrats Considering Coalition With Left

LD2102221392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Interview with Jaroslav Wolf, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia, by correspondent Ivan Kosec in Bratislava on 21 February—recorded]

[Text] [Kosec] In his television address, the Slovak prime minister said, among other things, that the rejection of the treaty in the Slovak National Council Presidium increases the possibility that unconstitutional steps may be adopted.

[Wolf] I believe that in this respect the prime minister is right. Unfortunately, he forgot to say one thing and that is that this is a certain result of the fact that the government coalition has left the opposition on the sidelines. This means that it did not participate in these important talks. We regard this as a big mistake not only in the political but also in the economic sense. This is because what is at issue at present is the transformation of the whole of society and here one political group cannot make decisions or participate in discussions alone despite the fact that it is at present in power. We are dealing with an agreement among all political groups.

[Kosec] According to the most recent information, Czechoslovak Social Democracy has decided to put up candidates also in Slovakia. Does this mean that you have failed up to now to find a common language?

[Wolf] We, too, were a little surprised by this step because it was, in effect, a unilateral one not taken in consultation with us beforehand. One has to say that this is only an intention and that it also reflects a certain pressure exerted by the party's right wing within the framework of the Czech Republic. We also believe that this is an example of the attitude of the Czech part on the issue of the common state. It is an illusionary notion that when things are going badly the Czech part will take matters into its own hands and resolve things by itself. This is, of course, nonsense. We believe that after the latest talks there will be a return to the original concept of partnership cooperation between both parties.

[Kosec] The day before yesterday you once again had talks with Mr. Dubcek about the possibility of forming a Social Democratic current in the republic and about Mr. Dubcek's position in this. You described these talks as very positive.

[Wolf] Naturally, we also discussed the issue concerning the three chapters of the constitution where we arrived at an absolute agreement that it is necessary to adopt this amended law. Mr. Dubcek said, in essence, on more than one occasion that he is a Social Democrat. His future possible position in this block has not as yet been resolved. It is his decision and we will, of course, accept it.

[Kosec] It has been rumored that you are willing, or that they intend, to form a coalition with the Party of the Democratic Left. What is the truth of this?

[Wolf] I have stressed on more than occasion that the Party of the Democratic Left has undergone a rather difficult transformation. I am not saying that that transformation has ended yet. In terms of the program, that party in essence stands behind the positions of Social Democracy. After a wide-ranging debate in our party the green light has been given to our presidium to engage in discussions on the possibility of creating such a coalition. These discussions are, of course, still taking place. I would like to say one thing on the matter. Look, there have been frequent talks about de-Bolshevization. Although de-Bolshevization can be carried out by liquidating the opponent, I believe that extending one's hand is a far better de-Bolshevization and this is our case.

Slovak Government Makes Personnel Changes

LD2102205792 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] The Slovak Government held a meeting in Bratislava today at which it discussed several personnel changes. It appointed (Jan Korenovsky) as the new chairman of the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office. It also relieved Vladimir Podstransky, deputy minister of agriculture and food, from his office in connection with his appointment as deputy to Vladimir Dlouhy, federal minister [of the economy].

It also took a stand on a report on the possibility of transferring the right of management of buildings housing state administration bodies. The Slovak Government stated that the preparation of an agreement on the transfer of such a right from state enterprises to state administration bodies must continue. In the oppositive case authorities will have to quit privatized buildings or pay rent.

Slovak Defense Council Views Army Formation

LD2202182292 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] The Defense Council of the Slovak Republic held its first meeting this year in Bratislava today. Among other things, the council discussed the security and preparedness of the Air Defense Force during a visit to a unit near Bratislava.

Speaking at a short press briefing, Slovak Prime Minister Carnogursky said that despite the fact that in terms of technical equipment the air defense is on the level of the 1970's, Slovakia's overall defense capability is sufficient.

[Begin Carnogursky recording] The biggest problems are in the sphere of securing financial resources for Slovakia's military defense. The entire cost of both construction work and a possible import of new weapons is very high. It is essentially out of reach for the Slovak budget and even the federal budget if it is to be carried out all at the same time and in a short time span. [end recording]

Journalists were also interested in the view of the Slovak prime minister regarding a foundation for the so-called Slovak Liberation Army.

[Begin Carnogursky recording] We do not consider this to be a problem of such significance that it would require the attention of the Defense Council. Nevertheless, those who sent a letter on this deserve to be condemned. If their identity is discovered, criminal proceedings will follow. [end recording]

German Challenge on Treaty Term Rejected

LD2202192992 Prague CSTK in English 2116 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CSTK)—A Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry official, in a statement given to CSTK, rejected an article in today's daily "BERLINER MORGENPOST" challenging Czechoslovakia's policy on the term "expulsion" in the Czechoslovak-German treaty, to be signed in Prague February 27.

Zdenek Zikmund, director of the ministry's press department, said: "I regard the conclusions contained in the

BERLINER MORGENPOST's commentary as imprecise and inadequate to the content of my reply to a question from the DPA agency this week. In any case, I do not think that I have cast doubt on anything or anybody—with the exception of the views of the commentary's author himself, maybe."

The daily wrote that confusion has erupted in Czechoslovakia over the term "expulsion" caused by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry which, according to the paper, has indirectly offended by its latest interpretation the president, Vaclav Havel.

The paper quotes Zikmund as saying that the Czechoslovak interpretation of the term "expulsion" contained in the preamble to the treaty fully abides by the spirit and letter of the Potsdam protocols. This means, the paper says, that three million Sudeten Germans, in the spirit of communist propaganda, were "resettled" (after World War Two).

The paper recalls Havel's statement of December 1989 that this was no "resettlement," but that unequivocally it was "expulsion," which must be condemend, and that he apologised to the people affected.

Zikmund today said the term "expulsion" is first of all he preamble, in which both states acknowledge that "the rule of violence, war and expulsion" inflicted heavy sufferings on innocent people, simply gives a true name to what was unjust on both sides. It denounces the application of the principle of collective guilt without acceptance of collective innocence, Zikmund said.

The fact that the term "expulsion" respects internationally valid documents and agreement does not weaken, but on the contrary strengtens the sense of that part of the preamble, Zikmund said.

Independent Smallholders Withdraw From Coalition

Party President on Withdrawal

LD2102200892 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—The national leadership of the Independent Smallholders' Party [ISP] unanimously declared the party's withdrawal from the Government Coalition at its session here on Friday. (The government coalition consists of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Independent Smallholders' Party.)

Party President Jozsef Torgyan said at a press conference that his party refuses to play a role in the "nation-destroying" policy with which the government has carried the country into a catastrophic situation.

According to Torgyan and the leadership, the change in political system was only implemented at the highest levels of power, while communist assets and power salvaging is actually in progress under the pretext of the change in system.

The session worked out a 20-point opposition policy but will detail these only on March 1 at the rally in Szeged, southern Hungary.

The national leadership also decided to expel all members of the ISP's "33" Group (one of the wings of the party's parliamentary group that broke up last year).

Also among those expelled are Minister for Labour Gyula Kiss, Minister of Agriculture Elemer Gergatz and Istvan Morvay, secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior.

Under the terms of the new ISP Constitution, the leading body has the right to immediately expel senior officials in exceptional situations, journalists were told at the press conference.

Torgyan sharply criticized parliament's constitutional and steering committees which voted for the—as Torgyan said—"extremely biased" report prepared by the flagbearers of the Democratic Forum: parliamentary group leader Imre Konya, chairman of the steering committee, and Laszlo Salamon, chairman of the constitutional committee.

The two committees thereby declared that no single party has anything to do with their parliamentary groups and the members are independent not only of their voters but also from their parties.

According to the ISP evaluation, this means that there are 10 million people who have been robbed of their rights and 385 citizens who are above the law.

Torgyan said the existence of the Independent Smallholders' Party was threatened by both left- and right-wing fascism, and "Antallism" also wanted to silence it.

The party cannot tolerate this, cannot acknowledge the situation in which the prime minister or the HDF parliamentary leader tells it who its parliamentary group members can be.

The national leadership invariably recognizes the 12-strong group as the sole and exclusive ISP parliamentary group (the other wing of the divided parliamentary group).

The party wishes to utilize all lawful means to enforce its present resolution. The Antall Government cannot question this as this would be equal to the introduction of open dictatorship. Inasmuch as this does take place, the ISP will inform the world about it, Torgyan said.

Torgyan and General Secretary Bela Nemeth noted the ISP was forced to quit for reasons beyond its control. They said the party's leaders wished to avoid the step, but regrettably neither consensus nor agreement was reached between the Christian parties.

Prime Minister Antall failed to reply to the negotiation offer of the Smallholders even after 6 weeks and "sent a message" through President Laszlo Surjan of the Christian Democratic People's Party that the chance exists for governing as a minority.

In accordance with the resolution of the national board of the ISP on January 11, the national leadership did not wait until the final date of February 29 to quit because the party's supreme body declared: Inasmuch as the conduct of the coalition partners makes it obvious that no agreement can be reached, withdrawal from the coalition is possible at an earlier date as well.

Party Suspended From Democratic Union

LD2202193992 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—The Independent Smallholders' Party's [ISP] right of participation in the European Democratic Union [EDU] is to be suspended, under a decision passed by the acting body of the organization which gathers the Christian Democratic and Conservative Parties of the continent.

The EDU session, held in Budapest on Friday, cited the uncertainties surrounding the leadership and orientation of the Smallholders' party. It decided to send a fact-finding team to clarify the problems. Inasmuch as the group does not receive a reassuring answer to its questions, the EDU membership of the ISP will be suspended. Until then, the ISP cannot attend any event organized by the EDU.

Commenting on the decision, Laszlo Surjan, president of the Hungarian Christian Democratic People's Party [CDPP], told MTI the resolution was reached at the initiative of the Western parties, and neither the CDPP or the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] attended the debate.

At a press conference following the EDU conference, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky—analyzing the generally valid lessons of the conference—said in his

capacity as member of the HDF presidium: It has once again been confirmed that manifestations which attack democracy in our region cannot be enforced. The West promotes the advancement of the Central-Eastern European region, but is also aware of the dangers that accompany transformation.

Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall also mentioned these political and economic dangers when he hosted a lunch in honour of the conference participants. Antall said a vacuum has come about in the region after the fall of the Soviet reign. It is a mutual responsibility to prevent demagogue political groups filling this vacuum, and for the ideas of democracy and solidarity to come to prevail. EDU has now made it clear that only the genuinely democratic parties have a place in its ranks from the new applicants. [passage omitted]

'Majority' Oppose Withdrawal

LD2202133292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Because of developments of the past 24 hours related to the Smallholders Party [FKgP], today's accounting grand rally of the 33 Smallholders' deputies has risen in importance. Rihard Robert Kiss reports:

[Kiss] [passage omitted] Labor Minister Gyula Kiss said that it has been proved that the majority of the Smallholder masses is on our side, adding that two-thirds of the grassroot branches are represented here today. Therefore, the claim that the majority supports Jozsef Torgyan is out of the question.

Therefore it is we who must determine the future of the party—and the essence of this future is that we must stand fast in support of the coalition, we must not depart. This is the only way the country can get out of its difficult situation.

We shall root out the wild growth of the party and we shall repress dictatorial endeavors. [passage omitted]

Participants in the rally apologized to Vince Voros for his expulsion from the party yesterday. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Jozsef Torgyan wants to turn the remaining part of the FKgP into a right-wing opposition bloc. Tibor Vocz spoke to him:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Vocz] In a statement you made yesterday there was a sentence that the party's opposition strategy exists.

[Torgyan] [passage omitted] I emphasize the need for the creation of a right-wing bloc because in Hungary today only a left-wing bloc exists. What we are thinking of is not an extreme right tendency but a definite nationalist-Christian-democratic tendency in a way that we do not want to join anybody in an alliance...

[Vocz interrupts] With none of the opposition parties therefore?

[Torgyan] Indeed. We think that all Hungarian forces wanting a real change of regime must join with us. [passge omitted]

[Vocz] To what extent is this move a part of the elections?

[Torgyan] Well, the elections will be—it is assumed—in two years time. Whether or not the FKgP remains a participant in this nation-ruining policy or not is of obvious importance. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Group of 33' Favors Coalition

LD2302185992 Budapest MTI in English 1824 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—"The Group of 33 member of the parliamentary faction of the Independent Smallholders' Party has decided to set up the historical platform of the party" aimed at reshaping the party's political feature. They also take a stand to uphold the coalition "and will do everything for the unity of the parliamentary group and the party", runs a statement issued by the Group of 33 members of the ISP's [Independent Smallholders' Party] parliamentary faction.

The some 3,700 participants to the national rally, held in Budapest on Saturday, approved the statement.

The 33 members of the ISP parliamentary group form one wing of the parliamentary faction which broke into two last year. As was reported, the members of the "Group of 33" were expelled from the ISP on Friday, at a session chaired by Party President Jozsef Torgyan. It was at the session that the national leadership declared it was quitting the government coalition.

Participants of the national rally of the "Group of 33" decided to begin preparations for the delegate assembly of the party's historical platform, and to create their programme proposals. The approved statement notes that only persons with unimpeachable moral and political reputation can become members and representatives of the ISP, or its leader. The participants thus call on party President Torgyan to resign.

Sandor Olah, deputy head of the ISP parliamentary group, said in his closing address that the conference did not aim at setting up a new party, as the representatives and those present will remain members of the ISP. The delegate assembly will be convened shortly, to pass major decisions.

Speaking to journalists at a press conference following the event, spokesman Miklos Omolnar noted the national conference had shown significant mass support for the historical platform. Some 68 per cent of the party's some 1,400 basic organizations were represented, although President Torgyan and his team forbade them, threatening with expulsion. The large number of participants indicates that the fear caused by the dictatorial methods of the leadership, is dissolving among the ISP members. Members of the party can no longer be misled with mere slogans. The initial

popularity of Torgyan is thus plummeting even amongst the provincial population with lower educational levels.

With respect to the group of 12 MPs [members of parliament] who support the Torgyan line, the Group of 33 raise the question of redistributing the parliamentary committee seats, inasmuch as the group of 12 do not return to the faction within a determined period, Omolnar said.

Representatives of the other two government coalition parties, the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic People's Party, also attended the public session of the ISP parliamentary faction's "Group of 33".

In his welcoming speech, Imre Konya, head of the HDF's [Hungarian Democratic Forum] parliamentary group, said the Smallholders' Party is an ally of the HDF, as it also represents national, Christian and bourgeois interests.

Tibor Fuzessy, head of the CDPP's [Christian Democratic People's Party] parliamentary group, called for coalition unity, and voiced the hope that the work which the nation expects from the coalition can now finally begin, with the hopefully final elimination of internal conflicts in the ISP.

Gyula Pasztor, leader of the Group of 33 MPs of the ISP, said the historical platform is the sole authentic representative of the Smallholders' Party. The Group of 33 say no to demagogy, to engaging in politics through propaganda. As compared to this, they adhere to a realistic policy that is foresseeable for both friends and opponents. The faction will continue to strive for clear, tangible results in the coalition in this spirit.

Minister of Labour Gyula Kiss said party President Jozsef Torgyan had been invited to the conference, with the condition that he present the results of the examination regarding his political integrity, which he has so far not taken over from the prime minister. On the other hand, Torgyan asked the prime minister to liquidate the contents of the envelope in question. The Minister of Labour mentioned this only to bring home the dangers that threaten democracy.

Antall Cannot Destroy Document on Torgyan

LD2202085292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Premier Jozsef Antall informed the chairman of the Smallholders Party [FKgP] that he is in no position to destroy the contents of the envelope concerning the screening of Jozsef Torgyan. It is known that last year the leader of the FKGp refused to accept from the prime minister the letter which was intended to clear his so-called 3/3 [internal security] agent past.

Through the Prime Minister's Press Office Jozsef Antall assured the FKgP politician that the envelope concerning his screening and its contents will continue to be handled in accordance with the prevaling legal provisions. The prime minister wrote this in reply to a request from Jozsef Torgyan on 18 February to have the envelope destroyed without opening it.

Antall Stresses Coalition 'Firm'

LD2302213192 Budapest MTI in English 2023 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—"It is my conviction that the coalition is firm. The Independent Smallholders' Party [ISP] should solve its internal problems," said Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in connection with the events that took place within the ISP over the week-end.

The prime minister was speaking on Hungarian television's weekly political program "A Het" (The Week).

As reported earlier, the national leadership of the ISP held a session on Friday, February 21, chaired by Party President Jozsef Torgyan, and declared it was quitting the government coalition, which consists of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the ISP and the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP). The national leadership expelled the so-called "Group of 33," one wing of the party's parliamentary faction, which has 45 members, which broke up last year. At the same time, the Group of 33 held an open faction session in Budapest on Saturday, which essentially became the party's national rally, as some 68 per cent of the 1,400 basic ISP organizations were represented, with a total 3,700 participants, who took a stand for upholding the coalition.

Justifying his views regarding the firmness of the coalition, Antall referred to the remarks made by the "prominent veteran" members of the ISP, the contributions heard at the national conference on Saturday. Antall voiced his hope that more and more people outside the Group of 33, from the other wing of the faction as well, will come to the conclusion that their place is in one group of representatives of the ISP.

The prime minister termed the national conference organized by the faction on Saturday to have been successful. Antall said the conference showed, in his view, that the ISP does not imply a "circus spectacle of shouting people," but the dignity which the Hungarian smallholders' society and the membership of the party implied in the past, too, and what it could imply today and in the future as well. The prime minister denied that he personally, or the Hungarian Democratic Forum, had contributed to the success of the national conference of the group.

In answer to whether a right-wing or left-wing danger exists or not, Antall said: "I believe there is no chance at present - nor, I hope, in the future - for either a left-wing or right-wing turn. The reason is that, the way I evaluate the international situation, neither a right-wing or a left-wing would have international background."

Antall added he does not believe that right-wing or left-wing extremists could come to power in the country, but he considered it natural that these groups try to prepare for this, or try to cooperate in this interest. Antall said the most right-wing extremist propaganda can be financed from the left, and is worthwhile to support it from the left, because this could, in a given situation, compromise a government coalition. Such efforts are made in the parliamentary systems of Europe as well, when they want to weaken the centre-right parties.

Accord Reached on Soviet Army Ecological Damage

LD2102201192 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 21 Feb 92

[No video available]

[Text] Following months of negotiations, agreement was reached today on a joint assessment of the ecological damage caused by the stationing of Soviet Armed Forces on Polish territory. The document was signed by plenipotentiaries of the two governments, by General Zdzislaw Ostrowski for the Polish Republic, and by General Viktor Dubinin for Russia.

The government commissions met twice today. Just before the delegation entered the hall, the Soviet flag was replaced by the Russian flag.

The morning meeting, which is held every month, was devoted to the revaluing of pensions, and to compensation for transportation accidents and material losses. Six applications worth a total of 2.5 billion zlotys were considered. If the parties do not reach an agreement, it will not be possible to appeal to a court; instead, the agreement says, the case may only be transferred to diplomatic channels.

In the afternoon, a document dealing with the mutual criteria for the assessment of the ecological damage done by the Soviet armed forces in Poland was signed.

A document concerning assessments of the value of the buildings put up and used by the Soviet armed forces has yet to be signed. Only when both documents have been signed will it be possible to say who owes whom and how much, because hitherto the two sides have been assessing damages differently. That is why no agreement was reached.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I think that all the agreements, documents, and protocols will be finally sorted out and signed in February, or in March at the latest. Then there will remain just one thing—withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces.

[Unidentified speaker] I agree with those deadlines set by General Dubinin. I think we can finish all the issues in March and sign an agreement. As we must stress, we are arguing, we often get emotionally involved, when we have to decide about matters which would, well, be a financial burden on our country. [end recording]

As a result of a political decision, all the Soviet combat units will have been withdrawn from Poland by 15 November 1992.

Former Soviet Army Convoy Stopped

LD2102163492 Warsaw PAP in English 1532 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Legnica, Feb. 21—A convoy of military vehicles belonging to the former Soviet Army which was travelling through Legnica Province (south-west Poland) on its way from Swietoszow to Borne-Sulinowo, has been halted for unknown reasons.

Neither the police nor the plenipotentiary of the provincial governor in Legnica, Antoni Golab, were told of the reason for the halting of the convoy nor when it would be restarting its evacuation.

Unofficial sources say that the former Soviet Army is going to evacuate Swietoszow by the end of July this year. At the same time the ex-Soviet Army has permission only until the end of this month to conduct large scale evacuations of more than 5 vehicles.

Golab said that the fomer Soviet side had not provided any schedule outlining its planned evacuation. He thought that since the well publicised press conference by General Dubynin on January 26, when the ex-Soviet Army commander had severely criticised the Polish authorities, contacts with the Russian side "are not now what they were".

Six Generals Deny Passsing Secrets to CIA

LD2102180292 Warsaw PAP in English 1602 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 21—Six former deputy ministers of national defence issued a statement to PAP Friday denying that they had worked with the CIA.

The statement follows an article entitled "Holy Alliance" by Carl Bernstein in "TIME" magazine (February 24), which says that one of the defence ministers deputies passed secrets on to the CIA after the imposition of martial law in Poland in December 1981.

"We the undersigned, who were vice ministers of national defence at that time, state that none of us worked with the CIA. We regard the information in 'TIME' as an insinuation that offends our dignity", reads the statement.

Generals Jozef Baryla, Zbigniew Nowak, Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski, Florian Siwicki, Tadeusz Tuczapski and Eugeniusz Molczyk were the signatories to the statement.

Second Round of Elections Held 23 February

Local, Foreign Observers Accredited

AU2302135892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/2/1992—As the Central Election Commission reports 2,376 Romanian and 22 foreign observers have been accredited for the second ballot of today, February 23, who add to the 7,281 national observers and 186 observers from 22 countries accredited for the first ballot of February 9. The Romanian observers are representatives of the Pro-Democratia Association, of the League for the Defence of Human Rights, of the National Union of Those Who Were not Party Members, of the 16-21 Decembrie Association.

Of the foreign observers four are members of the Council of Europe delegation.

Campeanu on Opposition's Credibility

AU2302143892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1334 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1992—Making a statement to journalists at the polling station where he voted, Mr. Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party [PNL], said a victory of the "key" (the electoral sign of the Democratic Convention, an alliance of 14 opposition parties including the PNL) would be due to the National Liberal Party to a large extent and then also to the unity with the other parties in the Democratic Convention.

"I think the redistribution of political forces, something that started with the first round of voting, will follow the same line. It is clear that the National Salvation Front no longer is a majority force as it is clear that the opposition forces have won credibility. This is a phenomenon which has been going on for more than ten months and which has become apparent," the PNL leader said.

He pointed out that the election campaign had proceeded in a civilized manner. "Even if there were a number of irregularities," he said, "I think they had little influence on the overall percentage. As for the future of the Democratic Convention, our targets remain the same. And our tactics for the next elections will be set after an analysis of the results."

Bucharest Mayoral Candidates Comment

AU2302135692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/2/1992—After casting his vote the candidate of the National Salvation Front for the mayorship general of the capital city Cazimir Ionescu stated to a ROMPRES reporter: "I think that we vote now not in a contest of two people, or two exponents but for our best chance for the next four years."

"The Democratic Convention's chances in this second local ballot are very big," stated Crin Halaicu, the convention's candidate for the office of mayor general of the capital city. "We will win in most of big cities," he added, "and in the constituencies where candidates of the Front and of the Convention are contesting we will certainly win everywhere."

Referring to the participation in voting Crin Halaicu opined absenteeism would not be significant because people, seeing that another political grouping can win over the ruling party, would come in larger number to exercise their right to vote.

Electoral Commission on Turnout

AU2302183292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1809 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1992—According to data supplied by the Central Electoral Commission the highest turnout before 14:00 hours [1200 GMT], local time, was registered in the County of Cluj—42 percent, followed by Bacau—35 percent, Prahova—32 percent, Suceava—31.5 percent, Arad—31 percent. The lowest turnout was in Timis County—18 percent, and then in Harghita—18.3 percent and Hunedoara—18.74 percent. [passage omitted]

By around 1800, more people reported to the polling stations than at the same hour on the first round, stated Judge Gheorghe Uglean, president of the Central Electoral Commission, in an interview with the Romanian television. Over 56 percent of the electorate reported to the polling stations in Arad, over 51 in Bacau, more than 45 percent in Bistrita, over 53 percent in Suceava, and in general all counties recorded by the afternoon a presence of around 47 percent.

At the time of our broadcasting, more people are reporting to the polling stations in Bucharest than in the morning, when the presence was poor.

CD Candidate Leads in Bucharest

AU2402094992

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania in Romanian at 0500 GMT on 24 February carries an eight-minute announcer-read report on the results so far in the runoff elections in Bucharest, Cluj, Dej, Brasov and other towns.

"In Bucharest, after 50 percent of the runoff votes have been counted, Mr. Crin Halaicu, the candidate of the Democratic Convention [CD] for the position of general mayor of Bucharest, got 55.68 percent of the votes," while "Mr. Cazimir Ionescu of the National Salvation Front [FSN] got 44.32 percent."

The announcer says that Mrs. Cristina Stefanoiu of the Pro-Democratia Association has reported "that this organization's estimates show that all the mayors elected in the sectors of Bucharest are CD candidates."

In Cluj "the position of mayor went to the candidate of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], Mr. Gheorghe (?Funar), who received 52.55 percent of the vote. This was reported by the president of the Pro-Democratia Association, Mr. Carol Crisan. In Dej, Mr. Ioan Petrus of the PUNR was elected mayor. Our correspondent reports that in Cluj County, results have been received from 34 of the 49 constituencies holding runoff elections. The results are as follows: PUNR—11; FSN—three; Republic Party—three; CD—three; Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—seven; independents—six; and the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR]—one. In all the municipal and city constituencies in Cluj County, the mayoral mandate was contested by the PUNR and CD candidates."

In Brasov "the CD candidate, Mr. Adrian Moruzzi, has been elected mayor with 53.7 percent of the vote; the FSN candidate, Mr. Ioan (?Gontea) received 46.3 percent.

"In Sacele and Predeal, independent candidates have been elected mayor; in Rupea and Zarnesti, the FSN candidates; in Victoria, the candidates of the Traditional Social Democratic Party; and in Fagaras, the second municipality of Brasov County, the CD candidate.

"In Resita, the independent mayoral candidate, Mr. Mircea Popa, received 25,316 votes, compared with the 9,794 votes for Mr. Radu (?Rogin) of the CD. In the other six towns of Caras-Severin County where runoffs were held, the mayoral positions went to Messrs. Cristel Trandafir, independent in Bocsa; Petru Grozavescu of the CD in Caransebes; Iancu (?Gogiltan) of the Ecologist Movement of Romania in the resort of Herculane; Mihai Carabat, independent, in Moldova Noua; Ioan Giurgiu of the CD in Oravita; and Mihai Raducanu of the FSN in Otelul Rosu.

"In Tirgu Jiu Municipality, Mr. Victor Murea of the FSN was elected mayor. Other mayors elected were Petru Olariu of the FSN in Bumbesti-Jiu; Alexandru Luntraru, independent, in Tirgu Carbunesti; Constantin Bleja of the PDAR in Ticleni.

"In Craiova, the FSN candidate Dan Nicolae, an architect, was elected mayor; and in Bailesti FSN candidate Ion Saceanu, an economist, was also elected."

"In Iasi Municipality, the vote count shows that 52.9 percent of the voters went to the polls. The FSN representative, Engineer Emil Alexandrescu, got 54.91 percent of the vote compared with the CD candidate, Professor Mandache (?Leocov), who got 45.09 percent. Also, in Iasi County, in Tirgu Frumos, the FSN candidate has been elected.

"In Vaslui Municipality, the Mr. Victor Cristea of the FSN was elected mayor. He had contested this position against Mr. Gheorghe Acatrinei of the Democratic Leftist Union. In Barlad, Negresti, and Husi the FSN candidates were also elected mayor.

"In Oradea Municipality, Petru Filip, independent candidate on the FSN list, was elected mayor; he received 68,726 votes compared with his opponent (?Sandor Jankoszeg) of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, who received 45,163 votes.

"In Beius, Engineer Ion Popa, the PUNR candidate, was elected mayor; in Virciorog Mr. Viorel Dont, an independent; in Sint Martin Commune, Mr. Alexandru Lazar of the Republican Party; and in Madaras Commune, Mr. Gheorghe Riz of the FSN.

"In Tulcea, Mihai Nicolae of the FSN was elected mayor; in Constanta County, in Agigea, Ion Neagu of the FSN; Petre Nicolae, independent, in Techirghiol; and FSN candidates in Basarab, Medgidia, and Tuzla.

"On behalf of the Ialomita County FSN organization, we received a fax last night announcing that in Slobozia Municipality and in the towns of Fratesti, Urziceni, and Tandarei the mayoral positions went to FSN candidates. In 10 communes the mayoral positions also went to the FSN candidates; in four the independent candidates won; and, in one commune the candidate of the National Liberal Party-Youth Wing won. In Andrasesti Commune, new elections will be held on April 19th."

The announcer says that "we have also learned that the Sibiu County Statistics Directorate" has not completed formalities "to process results. Results from Botosani and Timis Counties have been promised for 0900 [0700 GMT]."

'Partial Unofficial' Results

AU2402111992

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0900 GMT on 24 February carries a 3-minute announcer-read report on the "partial unofficial results of local election runoffs."

"In Bucharest's sector No. 1, the results available at 0800 [0600 GMT] indicate that Mr. Pomponiu Flor, Democratic Convention [CD], received 57.97 percent of the legally cast votes, while Mr. Ion Furnichescu, candidate of the National Salvation Front [FSN], got 42.03 percent.

"Judge Mariana Gulei, who supplied this information, says that results will be known around 1700 [1500 GMT] after validation procedures.

"In Bucharest's sector No. 5, Mr. Nicolae Ion Bizoi, CD candidate, received 52.7 percent, while Mr. Mihail Pintilie, FSN candidate, received 47.3 percent of the valid votes.

"In Slatina, where less than half of the voters voted during the 9 February elections, new elections were organized yesterday. Of the 559,447 people on the electoral rolls, 23,534 went to the polls and, therefore, a second runoff is needed on 1 March between the CD candidate, Mr. (?Jean) Gheorghe, and the FSN candidate, Mr. Mircea Liviu Dan.

"In Corabia, the FSN candidate has been elected mayor, as in Balj, while an independent candidate has been elected in Caracal.

"In Constanta Municipality the mayoral position will be held by the CD candidate. In the same county, this position will be held by the FSN candidate in Medgidia, an independent in Eforia, the FSN candidate in Mangalia, and by independents in Techirghiol and Agigea.

"In Bacau Municipality, the position of mayor will be held by Mr. Ioan Iosificiu of the CD, who got 53.11 percent of the vote. In other towns in that county, independent candidates were elected in Moinesti and Tirgu Ocna, and FSN candidates in Buhusi and Comanesti.

"Engineer Stefan Fratila of the Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR] will be the new mayor of Buzau; he received 70 percent of the vote. In other constituencies, the voters elected 16 representatives of the FSN, 15 independents, three CD caandidates, one Democratic Leftist Union candidate, and one Republican Party candidate."

Press Appraises Sitution on Eve of Runoffs

AU2202170292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1247 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/2/1992—"Even if at the end of Sunday, February 23, when the second round of voting is due, we are less troubled this frame of mind will not last long," the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER" writes in its editorial. "A success on the part of the Democratic Convention—which seems already certain—in the country's large towns will virtually herald their success in the general elections to be held in summer," the newspaper points out. "By that time the unity of that political grouping will have probably been better consolidated and there will no longer be areas where the National Liberal Party, the National Peasant Party and the Civic Alliance Party will have separate candidates despite their alliance, as was the case with the local polls. In between brackets it should be said that the decision of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania to have separate candidates where it was certain it will win was a rather unpleasant gesture of unloyalty. However, looking from a socioeconomic rather than political perspective we have serious doubts that a possible victory of the opposition in 1992 does not come too late... The opposition's success in May 1990 would have made a difference and its success two years later would be something else again. The Western world is too busy ... to give us the attention we would need if we, with a deeply liberal and courageous government at the helm of the country, committed ourselves to a shock therapy, with all the risks it entails. And the opposition should be aware of this aspect," "TINERETUL LIBER" winds up.

"The electoral slogans of the parties grouped in what is called the Democratic Convention," the newspaper "AZI" writes, "can be characterized by an insistent denial, at all costs, of everything that Romania has achieved after December 1989. It is precisely due to this constant and absolute denial that the opposition has failed to become credible... In the period that followed the December revolution the only one to have unhesitatingly assumed governing responsibilities was the National Salvation Front. Obstacles notwithstanding, the economic reform should be furthered, primarily through internal political stability, which would encourage foreign capital inflow. Further stability is the only solution for Romania and the continuity of the Front—and not necessarily of a number of individuals—seems, therefore, essential," the newspaper writes in conclusion.

"He who says that the general state of the country after two years of National Salvation Front governing is good lies," the editorial in "ROMANIA LIBERA" points out. "It is not grave that we lost our confidence in a party that disappointed us but it is extremely grave that a large part of the country's citizens—well-meaning people—have started to wonder whether private property, market economy and democracy are possible in our country at all and whether what happened in December was a revolution or a coup d'etat."

In its editorial headlined "Looking For A New Man" the newspaper "ADEVARUL" wonders "who are we to vote for?" and shows: "the 'new man' crisis continues in other forms. Wherefrom to gather so many capable and honest men, cleaner than their mothers' wombs? Import them? If you scratch biographies—even old maidens'—with your nail a little you come across surprising compromises—not to use the term employed in post-war Europe, i. e. collaborationism. ... What we suffer from, let us admit it, is the communist disease and our concern is for its chances for rapid recovery... The solution is biological and the instrument is time: We need several generations to courageously fight the disease to control it."

"DREPTATEA," the mouthpiece of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, reads: "As was to be expected, the campaign for the second round of voting ended on a rough tone updating the slogans and the phantasms with which the National Salvation Front hopes to gather its scattered armies back at the decisive hour: invectives, denunciation of the Democratic Convention, on the one hand, and an appeal for civism on the other hand, all coming from a force starting the race for power from the same line with the other contenders."

"In the final analysis," the newspaper "VIITORUL ROMANESC" points out, "whereas there are not too many doubts as concerns the immediate future it is slightly more difficult to ascertain the mutations of a more distant future. The Democratic Convention does not prove to be a monolith. Mr. Ion Ratiu's statement concerning the chairman of the Civic Alliance Party and Mr. Nicolae Manolescu's response are not of good omen... Unfortunately, from one battle to the other, the opponents forget the lessons of coalition wars."

International

Dailies Report on UN Decision To Send Troops

LD2202151692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES were the only Belgrade dailies to have managed to carry in their morning editions the report that the United Nations Security Council last night ruled to send peace-keeping troops to Yugoslavia.

The dailies write that the matter had been deliberated for an uneasy two days prior to the final decision, due chiefly to the fact that the annual cost of the operation involving nearly 15,000 men has been targeted at as much as 635 million dollars.

POLITIKA writes that an advance party is due to arrive in two weeks' time. The daily adds that the unpleasant delay in taking the decision had been caused by the nonaligned countries' opposing the provision, based on chapter 7 of the U.N. charter, that the U.N. troops in Yugoslavia may resort to armed action in case of failure of the peace mission.

POLITIKA EKSPRES writes that the resolution was adopted unanimously and that it requests Secretary-General Butrus Butrus- Ghali to take the measures necessary to ensure the earliest possible deployment of peace-keeping troops in order to create the condition of peace and security required for the resumption of the negotiation of an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is being set up for an initial period of 12 months, unprecedented for a U.N. peace-keeping operation, unless the security council should subsequently decide otherwise.

GATT Ready for Consultations on EC Sanctions

LD2002193192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—At the GATT session that has just ended in Geneva, and at which Yugoslavia's appeal concerning the EC sanctions against Serbia were officially examined, it was decided that conditions are ripe for holding consultations with Yugoslavia concerning the sanctions.

If the consultations do not take place, if a consensus agreement is not reached, or if the sanctions are not abolished within a month, GATT will automatically set up an arbitration commission at its session in March to deal with the EC-SFRY dispute.

This report was announced to the deputies of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces' Committee for Foreign Economic Relations who were told that GATT members are only bound morally by results or verdicts of the arbitration commission.

Interrepublic

Bosnian, Croatian Officials Discuss Cooperation

AU2202204692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1806 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Muhamed Cengic, vice-president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government, and Zdravko Tomac, vice-president of the Croatian Government, met in Trieste today.

They discussed the forthcoming referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina, economic cooperation, the opening of roads, bridge building, the Ploce harbor, and cooperation of military industries.

Bosnia To Sell Weapons to Croatia

LD2302195992 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Muhamed Cengic, vice premier of the Bosnia-Hercegovina government, has stated in Trieste that Bosnia-Hercegovina will supply with weapons not only the Yugoslav Army, but also other purchasers. In the light of the fact that an inter-state contract on cooperation exists between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, it will also be possible to cooperate in that field. An agreement has been reached with the Croatian government on joint participation in domestic and international markets.

Yesterday Cengic had talks in Trieste with Zdravko Tomac regarding possibilities for reciprocal complementary production of weapons and concrete business transactions between the two republics which will start in one week, HINA [Croatian news agency] has reported.

Bunkers Blown Up Along Croatian Border

LD2302000992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] We have just received the following report from HINA: This afternoon the Slovene state organs blew up two recently built bunkers on the Slovene side of the Slovene-Croatian border crossing at Petisovci in Slovenia and Mursko Sredisce in Croatia. Journalists were unable to learn whether the recently built bunker at the Gibina border crossing will also be destroyed. The bunkers were built without any announcement or public knowledge. Today it is still impossible to learn who ordered their construction or why.

Federal

Committees Formed to Assist UN Troops

LD2202150292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1327 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav federal bodies have set up operative groups which will be in

charge of assisting the blue helmets and whose activities will be coordinated by an operative headquarters at the Federal Government, TANJUG learns today.

The groups will assist the U.N. peace-keeping troops in various areas, such as accomodation, supply, transportation, ptt and other necessary technical services.

Members of the operative headquarters will be appointed at the next session of the Federal Government scheduled for Wednesday [26 February].

TANJUG learns that the likely candidate for chief of the headquarters is Deputy Federal Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic.

Slovenia, Croatia Not Complying in Extradition

LD2202231792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1127 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—The breakaway Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia have recently been refusing to comply with demands of the Yugoslav Justice Secretariat for the extradition of persons on the international wanted list, the Information Secretariat of the federal government has announced.

There are problems concerning the escort of suspects and convicts through these republics to the other areas of Yugoslavia when the European countries concerned have authorized their extradition. Slovenian authorities occasionally undertake to bring in the criminals extradited to Yugoslavia by other countries although this is the prerogative of the Yugoslav Justice Secretariat.

In view of a rise in the crime rate in Yugoslavia and the fact that its borders are open, the federal government will conclude extradition arrangements with those countries, especially in Europe, with which it has not had them. It will renew agreements with Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States, and ratify the European extradition convention.

JNA Attacks Deserters Along Danube

92BA0500D Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "Chetnik and Military Forces Loyal to the Hardline Serbian Hegemonistic Policy Started a Fierce Battle With Rebel Soldiers Hiding in the Danube Marshes"]

[Text] Single shots and artillery fire reverberate from the marshy areas around Apatin. The war has thus moved to the Vojvodina side. But this time the warring parties are not from the aggressors' or Croatian armies, but rather the conflict this time is between Serbian reservists-deserters and terrorist Chetnik groups. The latter being against the peace plan of Cyrus Vance, the application of which would mean the withdrawal of Yugoslav Army forces from the occupied territories and disarmament of the paramilitary groups. The rebels mobilized on Vojvodina territory rejected military uniforms and wanted to return to their homes via the Batinski bridge over the Danube. After being prevented from doing this several times, they decided to escape by crossing on the water. But, they were caught.

Deserters in the Area

The Chetnik and military forces that remained loyal to the hardline Serbian hegemonistic policy started a fierce battle with the rebel soldiers now hiding in the marshes along the Danube. Many were killed from both sides. Some innocent civilians were also killed in the conflicts around Apatin. Shooting is still going on and the deserters in the area are threatened to be destroyed. In spite of that, they are not going to surrender.

The conflicts announce the total break-up of the Yugoslav armed forces in the occupied Baranja. In order to hide this situation, the Yugoslav Army has fabricated a story about a Croatian saboteur group that, disguised in Yugoslav Army uniforms, wanted to blow up the bridge across the Danube near Batina. Since among the rebels there are Serbian reservists of Croatian and Hungarian nationality mobilized in the territory of Vojvodina, the Serbian propaganda used this event to again present disinformation to the Serbian people. And, who would not believe a story about Croatian saboteurs disguised in the uniform of the Yugoslav Army, when in fact they are not of Serbian nationality, and when other, or different, information does not reach the area because of limited and censored Serbian media coverage.

The Belgrade media used the "Batina Bridge Story" for glorifying the "liberating army that went into the sacred war to help brothers in Croatia threatened by genocide from the pro-Ustasha and fascist new Croatian government." Tanjug, Belgrade and Novi Sad TV, and the Belgrade press promised the Serbian people that the pro-Ustasha saboteurs will be destroyed.

"Black Hand" Threatens With Death

These same media sources, however, do not write about what is really happening in Baranja. This area is today something of a concentration camp: The authorities of the so-called SAO Slavonija, Baranja, and western Srem controls all movement of the inhabitants. Without a pass one cannot get to the closest place let alone cross the Danube into Vojvodina or across the border into Hungary. A pass is issued by something called the Command of the Territorial Defense, the pass then must be approved by the Secretariat for Inner Affairs. Thus the Serbs who fled from western Slavonija, the area of Grubisano Polje, and were resettled by force in Baranja, are now prevented from leaving Baranja. They are living in other people's homes. Disappointed, they want to return to their own homes. But, there is no returning—the new government wants to make Baranja ethnically pure, Serbian. These Serbs, forced into exile, are in fact the hostages, slaves who have to work for the new

government today, and tomorrow they will be voters, voting for a life in a "united state"—Yugoslavia.

At the same time, Croatians and Hungarians are being driven out of Baranja. The most active in this movement is an organization called the Black Hand. They are sending messages to the addresses of the non-Serbian population similar to the following: "By the decision of the people of SAO Slavonija, Baranja, and western Srijem, who want to live in one state, you are being ordered to move out from Batina and Baranja within the next 24 hours. If you do not comply you will be driven out by the armed means because you are pro-Ustasha." These messages are always signed, the Black Hand movement. The most active in forcing Croats and Hungarians out of Baranja are Damir Zuzic and his assistants Pero and Nikola Sajlovic, Milan Milenkovic, Stevan Lepold, Bela Lukac, Horpert Bela, and Rudolf Gajic. By their names, it is obvious that some members of the Black Hand organization are Hungarian quislings.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Army General Talks With UN, EC Observers

LD2102181992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Mostar, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—Units of the JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) Uzice Corps have arrived in Hercegovina assigned with averting inter-ethnic conflicts or genocide of Serbian people and with securing military facilities, as their commander Gen. Milan Torbica said here today in a talk with U.N. peace mission members and E.C. monitors posted in Mostar.

In his talk centered on political and security situation in Hercegovina in the last five months, Gen. Torbica said that a serious problem in this situation was posed by Croatian paramilitary formations.

Gen. Torbica estimated that deployed on the right bank of the Neretva River there were 10,000-15,000 members of paramilitary formations, and, on the river's left bank in the [name indistinct] region some 4,000-5,000 more members who predominantly belong to the HOS (the Croatian Party of Rights, led by extreme nationalist Dobrosav Paraga).

Transport links remain cut off in southeastern and southern Hercegovina towards Metkovic and Stolac, as roadblocks stay on principal roads and at the eastern entrance to the town of Capljina.

Predominantly Serb villagers at Klepci and Tasovici, near Capljina, said at a rally that the roads were blocked in protest over increasingly frequent terrorist actions aimed against Serbs' property in the Capljina area.

Three Die in Military Helicopter Crash

AU2402094792 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] A military helicopter crashed in the center of Drvar today. Three people lost their lives and one was seriously injured. The helicopter's pilot, Lieutenant Ekrem Pasic from Otoka, and two passengers, Nenad Sobic and Miroslav Serbedzija from Drvar, died. A third passenger, Drasko Cicic, was quickly taken to hospital in a very serious condition and doctors at the Knin medical center are fighting to save his life.

A commission set up to investigate the causes of this serious accident is at the scene of the incident.

SDS Issues Statement on Lisbon Interparty Talks

AU2002162992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] The talks on the future setup of Bosnia-Hercegovina between the leaders of the three ruling national parties with the participation of EC representatives are going to continue in Lisbon tomorrow. The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] issued a proclamation for the Serbian people today in which the party calls on them not to take part in the coming referendum. Here is Ljubomir Nikolic reporting from Sarajevo:

[Begin Nikolic recording] The representatives of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are leaving for Lisbon tomorrow where they will present the view that one cannot reach the desired compromise among the three peoples if the question of the future setup of the state community [drzavna zajednica] on the territory of Yugoslavia is not included in the talks.

The results of the plebiscite of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina have shown that it can only be divided from the rest of Yugoslavia by force, and it is also not realistic to expect the Croatian people to accept complete division from its newly created mother country, it is said in the platform the SDS prepared for tomorrow's talks. According to that document, a complete Bosnia-Hercegovina can be more easily preserved if, apart from an internal transformation, the future state-political links of Bosnia-Hercegovina or its parts with Croatia and Serbia will also be discussed. It is said in the document that the Muslim people must have absolute freedom of decision on the territories where they constitute the majority.

One more view that the three-member delegation of the SDS is going to present in Lisbon is that the Serbian people do not oppose the referendum, but that they cannot agree with an illegally imposed question that fails to define either the republic's internal setup or its future external setup, that is, its neighbors.

On the occasion of the referendum, the SDS has issued a proclamation to the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina in which it calls on them not to take part in

the referendum, because by the very act of participating the Serbs would contribute to the legalization of this so-called referendum that is against the interests of the Serbian people. The SDS reminds the Serbian people of Alija Izetbegovic's stands in his Islamic declaration. Mr. Izetbegovic was unambiguous there, his Bosnia is not the same as our Bosnia, it is said in the proclamation sent to the Serbs of Bosnia- Hercegovina. [end recording]

Other Reactions to Lisbon Meeting

AU2102164192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Ljubomir Nikolic report from Sarajevo]

[Text] The delegations of the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] left for Lisbon this morning where Alija Izetbegovic, who is arriving from New York, and Haris Silajdzic, who is paying a visit to Germany, are going to join them. Immediately before the trip, Mato Boban, head of the HDZ delegation, said that it was necessary to reach an agreement before the referendum and that his party will stick to its demand for a change in the referendum question that it adopted at the Livno meeting. When asked to comment on the intention of Croats in some parts of Bosnia to take part in the referendum nevertheless, and vote on the question adopted in the Assembly by the deputies of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the HDZ, Boban replied that what is involved are malicious intentions on the part of the press, which is giving exaggerated publicity to these cases.

Various parties and movements continue to make statements for and against the referendum. Drago Borovcanin, president of the Veterans' Organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is of the opinion that the referendum is no solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that it is going to cause even greater divisions.

The Party of Yugoslavs announced today that, we quote, in the situation that has been created in which there is no agreement among the key political players in Bosnia-Hercegovina about the referendum's legal nature and political aim or about the question as to which citizens should vote and the situation in which the level of political risk involved in the referendum's outcome cannot be predicted, every responsible and conscientious citizen should withhold his support from such an unprepared and irresponsible political act with unforeseeable consequences. The Party of Yugoslavs has sent a letter to the Sarajevo Radio and Television, Yutel, OSLOBODJENJE, and Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in which it protests against their refusal to accept any opposition and critical views about the referendum. The Party of Yugoslavs has sent copies of the letter to the Presidency, Assembly, and Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to Butrus Ghali, Lord Carrington, as well as to the heads of observer missions in Belgrade and Sarajevo.

In its announcement today, the Reform Forces' Alliance for Bosnia-Hercegovina says that the political solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina problem lies in the form of a sovereign republic, that is, a state within the existing borders that is going to form a Yugoslav community together with the other Yugoslav republic-states. The reformists have never supported anything with national connotations, so they do not support such a referendum either, party secretary Tadej Mateljan said.

Party Leaders Comment on Lisbon Conclusions

AU2302210692 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Report on news conference by Bosnia-Hercegovina delegates to the Lisbon talks with unidentified reporters on 22 February at Sarajevo Airport—recorded]

[Text] The Lisbon negotiators on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina met immediately with reporters upon their arrival at Sarajevo Airport last night. First they informed them of the results of the talks:

[Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action] As you probably know, three basic conclusions were reached: First, Bosnia-Hercegovina will be preserved within its existing borders; second, ethnic reasoning will be applied in devising its internal organization. Units will be formed in consideration of the ethnic distribution of Bosnia-Hercegovina's population. For the time being these are ethnic units, this was the term used. Therefore, several ethnic units will be formed that will have a certain degree of autonomy. Neither the territorial layout of these units nor their powers have been defined yet. In any case, a thorough decentralization of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be involved. Third, the talks under EC patronage will continue and the EC will take an active part in all of this, guaranteeing all agreements reached.

[Reporter] Mr. Karadzic, are you renouncing the idea of linking these units, the ethnic units or whatever they might be called, in which the Serbs will form a majority with Serbia?

[Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina] We never wanted to attach a single part of Bosnia-Hercegovina to Serbia and that is why ...

[Same reporter, interrupting] To attach them to Yugoslavia?

[Karadzic] Well, we do not know what will happen to Yugoslavia. One can see that the demand is growing in the world to preserve a sort of membrane around Yugoslavia, to retain a sort of association. Our first task, however, is to sort our relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this respect, we accept that the external borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina do exist. That is to say, we have no intention of attaching any single part of Bosnia-Hercegovina to Serbia. This must be clear.

[Miro Lasic, representing the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina] A problem of the relationship between the two sovereignties that will emerge—sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state, as a federal state, and sovereignty of these constituent units—is now appearing. Our opinion is that Bosnia-Hercegovina must have at least three or four basic things in common, that is to say, a common army, police, central bank, and legal order. The state of Bosnia-Hercegovina must guarantee legal security to every citizen.

Referendum Organized in All Communes

AU2102201592 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] The Republican Electoral Commission has appointed new electoral commissions in 30 communal assemblies that refused to carry out the organization of the referendum for establishing the status of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Republican Electoral Commission has warned communal authorities that it is unlawful to deny the citizens the right to take part in the referendum and that it will therefore ask the corresponding republican organs to take all legally established measures against these communes.

Cehajic on Preventing Bosnia's Division

LD2302210892 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Sarajevo, February 23 (MTI)—"The Serbian and the Croatian presidents have agreed in the division of Bosnia, and the Muslims would accordingly have had their own state in the middle part of the current Bosnia. However, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic firmly rejected this offer," said Bosnian Deputy Prime Minister Mahmut Cehajic, in an interview with MTI's correspondent.

The politician of the Democratic Action Party, which rallies the Muslims, said the Serbian and Croatian presidents held a secret meeting in Karadordevo last spring, and agreed in the details. The "proposal" was presented to President Izetbegovic at the conference of the presidents of the republics in Split.

"This division would imply a selfish and adventurist policy, and we are well aware of this on the basis of world war experiences," Cehajic said. He sharply condemned Serbia, the Serbian leaders in Bosnia and the army as well.

"Bosnia is being starved by Serbia, however, it does bring food to the area with the help of smugglers, but this is sold only to the local Serbian residents. Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, is the 'extended arm' of Serbia, and is on excellent terms with General Blagoje Adzic, the acting minister of defence, with whom he is in constant contact. The leaders of the Serbs in Bosnia would not be so self-confident without support from the army," he added.

According to Cehajic, the army must leave Bosnia, and if it will not do this after the declaration of independence, it will be ranked as an occupying force, as the army exclusively represents Serbia's interests.

The deputy prime minister said Bosnia was left with no other choice, following the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, than to declare its independence. Earlier, Bosnia called for the federation of sovereign federations, but this no longer is possible.

With respect to the division, Cehajic said the population in Bosnia is so mixed that no pure solution from the ethnic point of view exists. The majority of the Croats and Serbs would be left outside the planned cantons. Only the croats in western Hercegovina constitute an ethnically pure group, but they imply only a small proportion of the Croats in Bosnia, with only some 200,000 of the 700,000 Croats living here. The situation is similar with respect to the Serbs, they live on a relatively large area, but the population density is small, and the majority of the Bosnian Serbs live on mixedly populated areas.

All the same, Cehajic said the Muslim Party of Bosnia is not against the plans for cantons, however, such a division of territories should be approved only through constitutional means, but the Serbians made a unilateral decision. They have now given up seccession, but this is only temporary, and once the situation changes, they will bring it up again, and the planned cantons are the preparations for this.

National Front Calls for Referendum Boycott

LD2002140292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The National Front of Yugoslavia for Bosnian Krajina sent a proclamation to the people of Krajina, calling on them to boycott the referendum on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. "Nobody, not even a rump Bosnia-Hercegovina's Assembly, has got the right to ask a referendum question which breaches the Federal and republican Constitutions and requests the formation of an independent state of Bosnia- Hercegovina," the proclamation says. "The referendum has jeopardized and impaired the constitutional equality of the nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and it encourages the breaking up of this republic. Consequently, voting at the referendum and saying 'yes' inevitably leads to inculculable consequences, not excluding armed clashes," the proclamation states.

Croatia

Genscher Stresses Future Cooperation

LD2202140192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] We have just received the news that after their talks, President Tudjman and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher made a statement for the press.

Genscher thanked Tudjman for the invitation to visit Croatia. This is the first German delegation to visit since the international recognition of Croatian independence. He said he had talks with Tudjman on the prospects for Croatian development and about improving relations between Germany and Croatia, as well as with Croatia and the EC. Genscher said he is pleased that the UN Security Council has decided to send peacekeeping forces because they will establish stability and accelerate a political solution on the territory of former Yugoslavia. He also stressed that this visit will contribute to the development of friendly relations between Germany and Croatia, and this was confirmed by President Tudjman as well. Tudjman expressed his hope that as in the past Germany will continue to help Croatia's endeavors to have peace and stability established in this part of Europe and help Croatia soon become not only an associated but a permament EC member.

Rejects Croatian Opposition

LD2202231192 Berlin ADN in German 1912 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb (ADN)—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has called on all the conflicting Yugoslav parties to strictly adhere to the UN peace plan. After a meeting with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Genscher said in Zagreb today that the stationing of peacekeeping troops in the crisis areas in Croatia, decided upon by the UN Security Council, does not anticipate a political solution of the conflict with Serbia. This will be left up to the EC Conference on Yugoslavia which now has to become "greatly active" in this.

Genscher rejected Croatian objections to the UN plan. Only the criteria for stationing the peacekeeping troops decided on by the United Nations are decisive. The Croatian president has given his assurance that he will respect them. Tudjman described the sending of the UN troops as an important condition for a political solution.

Genscher, who has travelled to the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana, emphatically reiterated Germany's wish for good relations with all the republics of the multinational state now breaking apart.

Tudjman Confirms Acceptance of UN Regulations

LD2202231292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman confirmed in his talk with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today that he accepts UN regulations without reservations, as he recently did so in writing.

Genscher confirmed the above to journalists after his one-day visit to the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Genscher said he was "very impressed" with his talk with the representative of the Serbian people in Croatia, President of the National Party Milan Djukic, but he failed to specify what they talked about.

The National Party rallies a small number of Serbs in Croatia, who are "loyal" to the present government. Its leader, Djukic, was deputy of the Croatian minister of internal affairs, Josip Bojkovic, renowned for his statement that Knin, the political center of the Serbian Krajina, should be "deleted."

In response to a question about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Genscher answered that a referendum was necessary in this republic and that it should be carried out under internatonal control. He said that the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina should decide on the republic's future by themselves, democratically, but bearing in mind its integrity.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is ruled by a coalition of three national parties of the three constituent peoples, who have different opinions on the republic's independence. While the Moslem party urges an independent and united Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Serbs and Croats urge its confederation.

Genscher underscored that the rights of the minorities should be respected everywhere and on the basis of the same principle—which means that the same standard should be used for minorities in both Croatia and Serbia.

Under the federal constitution Serbia still abides by, Croats in Serbia have the status of a nation, while the Zagreb authorities proclaimed Serbs in Croatia a national minority even before they decided to secede.

Replying to the question why Germany still had an ambassador in Belgrade, Genscher answered that Yugoslavia was a member of the United Nations and the CSCE and that there were republics which were for the continuity of Yugoslavia.

Foreign Minister Reports on UN Talks

LD2202171392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Now we have a report from New York. Following the UN Security Council formal decision to send peacekeeping forces to Croatia, Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic spoke to us from New York, where has been for a week now. It is important to say that in addition to meeting UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali and other senior UN officials, he also met the Security Council members whose countries have not yet recognized our country. This includes the United States and the PRC, as well as some members of the Nonaligned Movement .

[Begin Separovic recording] The news of the day is the fact that I was formally and officially received for a relatively long meeting—longer than had been anticipated—by Mr. Butrus Ghali, and before him by the assembly chairman. Following the intensive closed-door consultations lasting throughout the day, late last night

the Security Council resolution on the despatch of peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia, as they put it, was published and accepted. These forces will be sent at once. It was said that the situation in Yugoslavia presents a threat to international peace and security. The recommendation is that the peacekeeping actions be tackled as soon as possible. The secretary general was asked to send part of the force at once to help achieve the full implementation of the plan. It is thought that the first contingents will arrive within two week's time and that the whole action will be carried out within the next two months.

We tried to convince them it will not work. We said that pressure should be brought to bear so that the sides in this conflict reduce expenditure as much as possible, in other words, shift a portion of the expenditure to us. [sentence as heard] Our argument is that Croatia cannot be punished twice. Once is as a result of a war during which it suffered a lot of casualties and had its industry damaged. Now we must bear the cost of peacekeeping forces as well. We agreed that we can facilitate the accommodation of the forces, and this is our share.

What is very important is that the forces are being sent for one year, not for six months which is the norm. This period can be extended.

It is known that Serbia has objections to membership in the peacekeeping forces of the countries that have recognized Croatia, meaning Sweden, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, but I believe they will not be successful. What worries us is that the reference is exclusively to Yugoslavia and not to Croatia, that the countries are enjoined to abide by the embargo regulations, and that all sides in Yugoslavia are invited to take part in the conference on Yugoslavia, as stated throughout the whole text of the resolution.

In addition, the nonaligned countries managed to obtain the proviso that agreement should be given for any new Security Council decision. In other words, they are against any possible radical measures whereby these peacekeeping force would not only secure peace but create peace--that is, act in a radical way—as was the case in the Gulf.

It is only to be hoped now that these blue helmets will play the role earmarked for them in our area, which is to establish peace, without prejudging a political solution, and then to withdraw as soon as their work has been completed. Thus Croatia will gain peace, but peace that is not without difficulties and without certain worries. We believe that our just cause, with the help of the international community, will win. We believe that we will succeed, that we will get rid of the Yugoslav army and Chetnik units, and that the sovereignty of the Croatian Republic will, we hope, be established soon throughout Croatian territory, with the help of the peacekeeping forces and the international community. [end recording]

Authorities Still Reserved About UN Peace Plan

LD2002191192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, February 2 (TANJUG)—Drago Krpan, vice president of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the ruling party in the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, said today that the Croatian authorities still harboured certain reserves towards the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces.

The Croatian authorities believe that some details regarding the arrival of the peace troops have not yet been hammered out, especially those concerning local authorities and local police in communitias not controlled by the Croatian authorities, said Krpan at a press conference.

Krpan expressed the view that the newly-named Croatian government commissioner for Knin would be carrying out his duties in Knin after the arrival of the peace troops.

Knin is the capital of the Republic of Serb Krajina formed by the Serbs within Croatia's administrative borders after they had refused to accept secession from Yugoslavia.

UN Secretary General Butros Butros Ghali requested of the UN Security Council on February 18, the deployment of peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia. According to Ghali's proposal, the Blue Helmets would be deployed in Eastern and Western Slavonia and in the northern and southern Krajinas (territories of the Republic of Serb Krajina).

The UN peace plan includes guarantees on the current local authorities and legal order, which means that Croatia's demands for the setting up of its authority in these territories cannot be taken into consideration.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had at first accepted the UN peace plan unconditionally, but later demanded of Butrtus Ghali that some "technical questions" concerning the arrival of the blue helmets be resolved, thus putting off the decision on their deployment to Yugoslavia.

In his latest report to the Security Council, Butrus Ghali warned that these "technical questions" are in fact fundamental ones, because they concern the extension of Croatia's jurisdiction over the zone which would be placed under the protection of the United Nations.

Only three days after accepting the peace plan, Tudjman told THE GUARDIAN and THE WASHINGTON POST that the police in the Serb Krajina would be responsible to the authorities in Zagreb.

In an interview to the Italian daily IL MESSAGGERO four days ago, Tudjman reiterated that Croatia would gradually start setting up local authorities in "its territories" after the arrival of the blue helmets. In yesterday's

VIENNESE STANDARD, Tudjman says that the controversial territories in Croatia where the Serbs are the majority population, "remain Croatian" and that "Croatia's laws" must be valid for them.

Government Guidelines for UN Involvement

LD2102233392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 21 Feb 92

["The Government of the Republic of Croatia's Guidelines for the UN peace plan"; place and date of issue not given—read by announcer]

[Text] While accepting the plan for a UN peace operation in the Republic of Croatia, the Government of the Republic of Croatia notes that international recognition of the Republic of Croatia has fundamentally changed the circumstances under which the dispatch of UN peace forces to the Republic of Croatia and the peace conference are being prepared. The operation of a peace force has been accepted as a temporary measure to create conditions for peace, security, and the exercise of human rights in certain areas in the Republic of Croatia. Consequently, the Republic of Croatia will respect the rights of minorities in line with its constitution and other legislation. The Republic of Croatia is a recognized state whose internationally endorsed borders were ratified after World War II.

In this respect, the Government of the Republic of Croatia demands that all international entities fully respect the Peace Conference Arbitration Commission's opinion No. 3 whereby the borders of the Republic of Croatia are regarded as state borders under international public law.

The government of the Republic of Croatia demands that a special agreement be signed between UN representatives and the Government of the Republic of Croatia which will formulate in precise terms the relationship between units of the UN peace force and the authorities of the Republic of Croatia along the lines of the aforementioned framework and the plan for the peace operation. The Croatian Government especially stresses points 7 and 8 of the peace plan which envisages the deployment of UN forces and police and military observers in certain areas in the Republic of Croatia.

Institutions and laws of the Republic of Croatia will be in force in the areas under the protection of the UN forces in compliance with the principle of territorial integrity and authority, that is, administrative, judicial, police, and monetary authority will be exercised in line with the legislation of the Republic of Croatia and the UN peace plan.

The government demands that the demilitarization of the areas under UN protection be carried out within 30 days following the arrival of the peace force. This means the withdrawal from the Republic of Croatia of all army units and personnel as well as territorial defense units in the municipalities of Beli Manastir, Vukovar, Grubisno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, Kostajnica, Petrinja, Dvor, Glina, Vrgin Most, Vojnic, Slunj, Titova Korenica, Donji Lapac, Gracac, Obrovac, Benkovac, and Knin as well as parts of the municipalities of Osijek, Vinkovci, Nova Gradiska, and Novska. In these municipalities and these parts of municipalities all the units of the so-called Territorial Defense and their personnel stationed in these areas will be disbanded and demobilized. The disbandment will also include the commanding structures of these units.

All paramilitary, irregular, or volunteer, units or those individuals who have arrived in these areas, will have to withdraw and abandon the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Provided these municipalities have been their place of permanent residence, their units will be disbanded and demobilized. Prior to its disbandment and withdrawal, every unit is duty bound to remove the mines it planted during its stay in these areas. All units of the Yugoslav Army stationed in parts of the municipalities of Karlovac, Duga Resa, Ogulin, Otocac, Gospic, Zadar, Biograd, Sibenik, Drnis, Sinj, Dubrovnik, and the Islands of Vis and Lastovo will be withdrawn from the Republic of Croatia simultaneously with the assumption by the UN force of protective tasks. All Serbian and Montenegrin territorial, paramilitary, irregular, and volunteer units must withdraw from the Republic of Croatia within 30 days following the arrival of the peace force in the Republic of Croatia.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia will propose to UN representatives a detailed plan for the return of displaced persons and refugees in the areas under UN protection. In order to effect their return those persons who recently settled in these areas should be dislodged. The Government of Croatia calls on all evicted persons and refugees who have not yet reported to government commissioners or to regional offices for the evicted [prognanici] and refugees to do so, in order to facilitate as soon as possible their organized return to the areas from which they were evicted. The return of the evicted and the refugees will be organized with the help of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN peace forces.

The Croatian Government will demand that the authorities of the Republic of Croatia participate in setting precise borders to the protected areas and in establishing the locations of deployment for the UN peace forces within the areas. The government demands that police and customs controls be established, in cooperation with the UN infantry, along the borders of the Republic of Croatia with Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in line with the fact that the areas under UN protection are integral parts of the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The Croatian Government supports the role envisaged for civilian police observers of monitoring the work of local police while stressing the importance of incorporating local police in the police system of the Republic of Croatia and its organization in accordance with point 19 of the plan. This means that local police must reflect the

national composition of the population of the area prior to the aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

The Croatian Government demands that the process of demilitarization and the relocation of units of the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian and Montenegrin territorial, paramilitary, irregular, and volunteer units stationed elsewhere in the Republic of Croatia and outside the Republic of Croatia, be completed within 30 days from the arrival of the UN peace force in the protected areas. The Croatian Government demands that the weapons of the so- called Territorial Defense be handed over to, and then kept by, the peace force only during the interim period.

The government sees no grounds for paying the demobilized units of the so-called Territorial Defense and their personnel any kind of compensation in the wake of demobilization. Prior to their mobilization these personnel were not professionally related to police or to military activities. The newly formed local police units and personnel and the administration and social services of the protected area will be financed in accordance with the existing system of the Republic of Croatia. The Croatian Government suggests that the process of demilitarization be monitored by the UN force in cooperation with the authorities of the Republic of Croatia. The government will put forward a detailed program of activities for republican and municipal bodies for cooperation with the UN forces in the implementation of the demilitarization of the areas under protection.

The Croatian Government demands that in addition to UN military observers the process of relocating the Yugoslav Army outside the Republic of Croatia also be monitored by representatives of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia. The duration of relocation should be limited to 30 days. The Croatian Government will demand that local police forces should be disbanded in those areas where they do not meet the conditions set out by point nine of the plan—the national composition of the police must reflect the composition of the population before the war. The current police composition will not be able to win acceptance because it should be adjusted to the population's national composition prior to the war.

The Croatian Government will organize a meeting within the next 10 days with representatives of all municipalities and government commissioners so as to reach agreement on the implementation of activities on the part of the competent municipal bodies in relation to the UN peace operation.

Norway Establishes Diplomatic Relations

LD2002132192 Zagreb Croatia Radio Network in Serbo-Croatia 1200 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Summary] A protocol was signed today in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Norway and the Republic of Croatia. Norwegian Ambassador Tormod Petter Svennevig and Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Bozidar Gagro were among those present at the ceremony.

Tudjman Rejects Complaints about Leadership

LD2302171992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 23 February (TANJUG)—With a sovereign, independent and internationally recognized Croatia "we have achieved the ideals for which the Croatian nation has aspired for nine centuries," Dr. Franjo Tudjman, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and president of the Republic of Croatia, stressed today.

At a formal session of the assembly of the HDZ to mark the second anniversary of the first general assembly of the party, he assessed that the party has passed a historical examination.

The Croatian president said that the complaints about the work of the party leadership are completely unfounded, especially the criticism of the agreement on the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces, instead of having Croatia itself liberate the occupied areas. "For many reasons we were, from the beginning, for the internationalization of the state and political crisis," Tudjman observed.

It is true, he added, that "at present we have a powerful defense force."

Some foreign sources say that the Croatian army numbers more than 150,000 soldiers.

"We have managed, in a short space of time, to create an army which has forced the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and Serbia to refrain from further intentions to conquer Croatia," Tudjman said.

The HDZ, he went on, must take over responsibility for the further fate of Croatia and do everything to continue to retain the trust of the people. "And this means we must end the war which has been imposed and introduce the constitutional and legal system of Croatia throughout its territory," Tudjman stressed.

Speaking about relations with Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Tudjman said that "Croatia must be a firm base for the securing of the national rights and aspirations of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Tudjman Hints at Dual Citizenship

LD2302144192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—"Croatia must provide firm support for securing the national rights and aspirations of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina," said Franj Tudjman, president of the

Republic of Croatia and president of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], at a ceremonial meeting today marking the second anniversary of the first HDZ general convention.

Croatian President and HDZ President Franjo Tudjman stressed that Croatia suports the United Nations' and EC's effort to prevent the war from spreading to Bosnia-Hercegovina. "We favor a solution in which the rights of the Croatian people and their relations with the Muslim and Serbian people are regulated by mutual agreement and based on recognition of the sovereignty, in a political and territorial sense, of each of these peoples within the framework of a confederally cantonized and rearranged Bosnia-Hercegovina."

In that case "Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina may also have dual citizenship, that is, they may also have Croatian citizenship, the Croatian president stressed at the meeting in Zagreb as he was hailed with thunderous applause by participants from Croatia and abroad.

Toward the end of his address Franjo Tudjman put forward his view that all the republic's capable citizens should find their place in the further restoration of Croatia. "Those winners who do not know how to offer reconcilliation to the defeated have to pay a high price at a later stage," Franjo Tudjman said at today's ceremonial session marking the first HDZ general convention in Zagreb.

Krajina Presidential Elections By End of February

LD2102205492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1911 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—A new president of the Republic of Serb Krajina and new premier will be elected at a session of the three Krajina assemblies scheduled to take place in Vukovar on February 26 and 27. This, as reported, was agreed today at a joint meeting of the premiers and the presidents of assemblies of the Republic of Knin Krajina, the Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia and the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranje and Western Srem.

The statement cites that the joint session will review all questions linked to the realization of the U.N. peace plan in Yugoslavia, accomodation of the U.N. peace-keeping force and in connection to this, the obligations of all organs of authority in the republic of Serb Krajina.

At the joint session, as reported, amendments will be adopted to the Constitution and constitutional law of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Invited to the joint session of the Republic of Serb Krajina are representitives of the Yugoslav federal organs, the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro, representatives of the Serbian people from Bosnia-Hercegovina and bordering Serbian municipalities in Bosnia- Hercegovina and Serbia, the statement sets out.

The Krajina assembly, which has been permanently in session since February 18, today continued work in Knin, the administrative headquarters of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Krajina assembly today unanimously annulled the decisions of the assembly held in Glina on February 16, at which it was decided that President of the Republic of Serb Krajina Milan Babic together with the government resign.

The decision was adopted after Babic kept refusing to accept the Vance plan on the dispatch of blue helmets to Krajina, seeking its modification. He demanded that the U.N. peace-keeping force be deployed on the line of separation of the conflicting sides and not according to an "ink blot" principle, which means within Krajina too.

Milan Babic addressed the assembly meeting in Knin today. He positively assessed the coming of the U.N. peace-keepcng force as a force of protection and said that it is good that the problem of the Krajina area is treated according to a U.N. trusteeship status.

Babic, however, quite critically spoke about point 6 of the U.N. secretary-general's proposal concerning the arrival of the peace- keeping forces, concerning the so-called technical questions, which include the functioning of trade, traffic and banking and other systems. Since he recalled that these questions were raised also by President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, Babic assessed that [words indistinct] at at all a technical but rather an essential question and thus, as he put it, a back-door entrance of the system of the Republic of Croatia to the area of Krajina.

Babic pointed out that this cannot be accepted at any cost and that he hopes that this will not pass in the final text of the U.N. Security Council resolution on the arrival of the peace-keeping forces.

Recalls President, Vice Presidents

LD2102223192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which has been permanently in session in Krajina's administrative center of Knin, today recalled its President Mile Paspalj and Vice-Presidents Ilija Djukic and Zdravko Zecevic.

The decision was reached unanimously, as was announced. It was not revealed, however, whether there was a quorum at the Assembly session.

The Knin Assembly is one of the two parts of the parliament, which parallelly exist in Krajina. The Serbs last year proclaimed the Republic of Serbian Krajina in parts of Croatia in which they make up the majority of the population in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

The Knin Assembly is under the influence of Krajina President Milan Babic.

The other part of the Assembly, which is headed by Paspalj and sits in session in Glina, late last week dismissed Babic and his followers in the republican government.

The Knin Assembly declared this decision null and void today.

The Krajina Assembly dissented over the peace plan on the deployment of the U.N. peace-keeping forces in Krajina of the U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Babic opposes Vance's idea on deploying the blue helmets on the "inkblot" principle on Krajina's territory. He requests that they be deployed along the line between the warring sides.

After all other parties to the Yugoslav crisis accepted the deployment of the U.N. peace-keeping forces, Paspalj on February 3 signed the approval of their deployment instead of Babic.

Babic proclaimed Paspalj's signature illegal and Paspalj responded by having his part of the Knin Assembly request that Babic and his government resign.

Babic today also introduced changes in the Krajina government. Although most of the ministers have been replaced, the public was most interested in the dismissal of Interior Minister Milan Martic. Martic and Babic have for a while now disagreed on the crucial questions of the Krajina government's policy.

Krajina Leader Comments on UN Forces Role

PM2002144092 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Feb 92 p 7

[Florence Hartmann and Yves Heller report: "Krajina Demands Equal Treatment with Other Republics"]

[Text] Belgrade—At war with Croatia and in open conflict with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, his former ally, Milan Babic, the leader of Krajina, the rebel Serbian enclave in Croatia, is clearly making a cautious change of course and, on Monday 17 February, moderated his opposition to the deployment of "blue helmets" in the regions under his control.

Without fully accepting the UN peace plan which he had hitherto rejected, he stressed that he "would not order organized resistance" to the presence of "blue helmets" in Krajina and welcomed the fact that, according to him, the UN plan had been "modified in accordance with Krajina's demands." Just a few days ago, Lazar Macura, one of Mr. Babic's closest aides, compared a possible intervention by "blue helmets" in Krajina to "an invasion and occupation."

While estimating that it is "impossible to disarm the forces present in Krajina" in present circumstances, Mr. Babic, in an interview to LE MONDE, warned against the hasty intervention of the "blue helmets" which would, he said, certainly "spark off incidents" for which he refuses to bear responsibility. "Put two armies together and you will see what happens," he said, emphasizing several times the fact that "the (Serbian) population will refuse to disarm while the Croatians remain on a war footing." "Around 10 days ago," he said, "the military police refused to carry out the order to disarm a unit of reservists." He therefore proposed the creation of a "demilitarized zone on either side of the front line."

In addition, Mr. Babic presented a precondition for his acceptance of the plan—that Krajina can participate in the negotiations on a comprehensive solution to the conflict on an equal footing with the other parties. He justified this demand by the fear of seeing Belgrade and Zagreb reach a deal at Krajina's expense. Indeed, Mr. Babic accused Mr. Milosevic of having already "sold" Krajina to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and he wants to prevent any consolidation of that "deal" by his presence. In Mr. Babic's view, any negotiation with the Croatians can only deal with the implications of separation—drawing of "borders" and the terms of future cooperation—because continued unity is impossible in his view.

The Partition of Bosnia

The future, in Mr. Babic's eyes, lies in a "partition" of Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to attach Krajina to the Serbian majority in the neighboring republic. This new Serbian entity would form a "federation" with the Muslim-populated regions of Bosnia. With regard to Western Hercegovina—an entirely Croatian enclave of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Mr. Babic has already allocated it to Croatia.

"The ideal," he said, "would be for the (Serbian Muslim) federation to form a federation with Serbia and Montenegro."

The change in Mr. Babic's tone with regard to the UN plan comes at a time when the pressures exerted on him to accept it have recently increased. For instance, he was disavowed by some Krajina deputies who "condemned" him on Sunday for his opposition to the deployment of the "blue helmets," while Belgrade is constantly condemning his obstinacy. Moreover, in Mr. Babic's view, President Milosevic directly controlled the local elected representatives who tried to oust him and who he plans "to put back on the right road" at the session of his "parliament" which he convened for this Tuesday 18 February. He thus hopes to reaffirm his leadership in Belgrade's eyes. At all events, Mr. Babic has not abandoned the idea of holding a referendum on the UN plan which he has scheduled for 22 and 23 February although the timing of this ballot is disputed by some local

representatives. Nonetheless Mr. Babic intends to continue to fight for Krajina's self-determination even if the "blue helmets" are deployed without taking account of his objections.

Babic Assures Support to UN Mission's Success

LD2202223192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Basic Krajina objections have been taken into account, said Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, today in connection with the adoption of a resolution of the UN Security Council regarding the deployment of a peacekeeping force in Yugoslavia.

"On behalf of government bodies and institutions of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, I can stress that the protection force will not be disturbed in the implementation of their peacekeeping mission and that the bodies and institutions of the Republic of Serbian Krajina will help this mission to be successful," he added.

The endorsed resolution, Babic said, clearly shows that Cyrus Vance's original plan "does not resemble its former self." It has been changed in several essential points which are no longer in line with what was signed in Geneva last November by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Veljko Kadijevic, then federal secretary for national defense, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

"Our basic objections have been taken into account. The peacekeeping force, their mandate, and length of stay on our territory will be the exclusive responsibility of the Security Council," Babic stressed.

"The resolution explicitly says that Croatian legislation and institutions will not be enforced in the territories that are protected by the United Nations. Our earlier criticism that we could not accept that the UN-protected territory, that is the area covered by the Republic of Serbian Krajina, be treated as an area within Croatia, has been vindicated. Now the resolution points out merely the fact that these territories are in Yugoslavia," he stressed.

Babic also noted that that the remark was also taken into account that the initial period of involvement by the peacekeeping force be one year rather than six months. This, in his view, "also provides a possibility for devising a political solution in this period."

"We were the first in Yugoslavia to call for UN involvement in resolving the Yugoslav political crisis. Now we can stress that we are glad that it is precisely the Security Council that will keep a watchful eye on the continuation of the peace conference on Yugoslavia at which we also must be introduced as equal participants in political talks," Babic says.

The fact that in addition to the UN banner only the banners of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Yugoslavia will fly on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina places Krajina under full UN protection, "that is, this resembles the notion of a protectorate, something we do not oppose precisely because protectorate, or UN patronage, implies that the people will have a say, following a certain period of patronage, in deciding in which country and what kind of country they want to live," Babic maintains.

"In other words, in this way our fundamental demand can be met—the Serbian people's right to self-determination," Babic said in conclusion.

SDS in Knin Forms Two Factions

AU2202221692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Dragan Dimitrijevic report]

[Excerpt] Just like everything else on the Knin political scene, the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in Knin and Krajina has split into two factions.

The first, which is led by Mrs. Ljubica Solajev, fully supports the politics of Dr. Milan Babic and the decisions of the Knin group in the Assembly.

The other, considerably older wing, which was formed by Academician Jovan Raskovic in the most difficult moments for the Serbian residents of these war-torn areas, concurs with the decisions passed at the Glina Assembly session and with the philosophy of Assembly President Mile Paspalj, who was dismissed yesterday by members of the Knin Assembly.

An extremely significant guest at today's SDS gathering in Knin, which was chaired by Raskovic, was Internal Affairs Minister Milan Martic, who also was dismissed yesterday. A message was sent to Martic from the speakers' rostrum not to worry, as he was in effect dismissed by Babic, former president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, who was dismissed at the Glina Assembly session.

Explaining the comeback of his SDS wing on the increasingly turbulent Knin political scene, Raskovic said that this party fully supports Cyrus Vance's peace plan. At they same time, the party rejects the politics of Milan Babic and the people around him, as they primarily serve, as Raskovic said, narrow private interests and neglect the interests of the Serbian nation in Krajina. [passage omitted]

Unemployment Rates Fall, Figures Cited

92BA0500C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 92 p 8

[Article by Ljubinka Markovic: "After Two Years of Continuous Growth the Number of Unemployed Fell for

the First Time at the End of Last December: Who Really Falls Into the Statistical Category of the Unemployed?"]

[Text] Croatia saw the end of last year with 283,308 unemployed. For the first time after two years of continuous growth, and during a month of raging war, the number of unemployed dropped. In November, the number of unemployed reached 287,216, which threatened to prove the predictions of about 300,000 unemployed by the end of 1991. The withered number obviously offers optimism, but is it really so?

The only fact that speaks in favor of the statistics is the fact that after the boom at the end of 1990, and the beginning of 1991, the number of bankruptcies fell drastically and the influx of those laid off became smaller. At the end of December, there were 76,543 unemployed people who evidently came from the bankrupt or insolvent companies, which was 578 fewer than in November. However, the number receiving unemployment compensation has also fallen, and the number of those taken off the Unemployment Office records is growing every month. Since the unemployment law was modified, the time one is qualified to receive compensation has been shortened, so many have decided not to even register with the office, and in the meantime, still others have found employment.

Actual Number of Unemployed: 600,000

According to other statistics, like the one about the number of employed between December 1990 and December 1991, which shows that the number of employed people in the state sector was reduced by 230,000, at the end of December the number stood at 1,215,223. However, in the employed category there is a large number who are actually unemployed but not shown as such. First of all, there are 180,000 workers from companies that were destroyed, or are in the occupied areas, who will for some into the future receive state-guaranteed compensation, based on state estimates. Secondly, there are at least 100,000 workers who are on company waiting lists and who, in the meantime, are receiving guaranteed payments from their companies so they won't cause problems. This means that almost 300,000 of those shown as employed actually do not work but are on the payroll of either the state or a company.

The actual number of unemployed thus exceeds 600,000! According to the estimates, 40 percent of the prewar working population is out of work, and this includes the unemployed, refugees, and those on waiting lists. This boils down to one employed person for each person kept if we also include pensioners! To include yet another 300,000 workers, who have the status of employed but who are in fact without work, together with the regular number of the unemployed shown would mean a dangerous social bomb, because eventually even those workers from the destroyed factories will after some time lose their state-guaranteed compensation, and also those waiting at home, with guaranteed payments from companies still operating, will all find themselves in the unemployment office.

Six Months for Pink Slip

The problem of the unemployment of a large number of people, and consequently their very existence, is becoming and is going to continue to be more and more serious, although right now it is being swept under the carpet through various actions. The key question is how to activate those who are unemployed, as well as those seemingly employed, but who live in the war zones, and how to prepare them for the market economy, which itself cannot get out of the abyss without the help of foreign capital. Part of the market-economy mosaic is already at our door.

A modification of the work relations and social care law, recently coordinated between the Ministry of Labor and the Trade Union Federation of Croatia, which should soon be before the Sabor [Croatian parliament], suggests that the deadline for pink slips be six months. This means that, first of all, the waiters [those on company waiting lists] instead of sitting home for up to two years could quickly find themselves on the Unemployment Office lists and fall into the category of the truly unemployed. According to those from the Union, thus a category of economic surplus could be finally introduced, but they demand from the government that a care program for about 600,000 de facto unemployed people be created that would include retraining, the possibility of buying back years of service, and the opening of new workplaces. For such a program, they say, concrete financial help can be asked of, and obtained from, Europe. For the time being, as we hear from the president of the Trade Union Federation of Croatia, Dragutin Lesar, this type of negotiating with the individuals in government is only—introductory.

Napalm Found in Former JNA Barracks

92BA0500A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by R.I.: "Under a Layer of 40 Large Barrels Filled With Powder Used in the Manufacture of Napalm Bombs, 300,000 Pieces of Ammunition Were Found in a Huge Concrete Gasoline Storage Bunker by a Special NBC Unit of the Zagreb Operational Group"]

[Text] After finding a true ecological bomb in the largest garrison in Zagreb, following withdrawal of the Yugo-army, a similar dreadful discovery also took place recently in the former military base in Pleso. In one of its huge concrete gasoline storage bunkers, a special NBC [Nuclear, Biological, Chemical] unit of the Zagreb Operational Group found 300,000 pieces of ammunition under a layer of 40 large barrels filled with powder used in the manufacture of napalm bombs.

Same as a Napalm Bomb

Had the ammunition by some chance exploded, the nearby residential areas of Novi Zagreb and Velika Gorica would have been in great danger. According to experts, the gasoline and powder, manufactured in Spain, make a very dangerous gelatinous napalm mixture that can cause an enormous fire, the consequences of which would be equal to those of actual napalm bombs dropped from the air.

Fortunately, as a result of a detailed search of the military base, the hidden and dangerous material was discovered in time, and the specially equipped and trained NBC unit headed by First Lieutenant Zvonko Orahovac immediately went into action. Clothed in special protective gear, the members of the unit lowered themselves into the storage areas deep under the ground, pulled out the barrels of dangerous powder and the ammunition, and stored it in a safe condition and place. An initial inspection of the area around the water well did not reveal the presence of nerve-paralyzing poisons in the air, and a mobile laboratory was immediately dispatched and set up in the area. The dangerous substance will be examined in the lab, and the underground water and nearby wells will be examined to determine if they have been polluted.

Concealed Mines

Of special interest in this case is the perfidy demonstrated by the aggressor army when turning over garrisons to representatives of the General Staff of the Croatian army, when they never mentioned the ecological bomb in the hidden underground storage areas or the potential danger to the neighboring residential areas. Also, the members of the aggressor army stated that they had removed all of the mines from the garrisons, but later inspections revealed this had only been partially completed.

A large number of hidden mines were left behind by the aggressor army, and since the beginning of the year, one such mine has caused the death of a man and has left another seriously injured. Therefore, the NBC units of the Zagreb Operational Group continue with their inspections of the garrisons.

Macedonia

Agreement Reached on JNA Withdrawal

LD2102205892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Skopje, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—An agreement was reached in Skopje today on a Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] withdrawal from Macedonia, to be completed by 15 April this year at the latest. The agreement was reached at today's talks between a delegation of the Republic of Macedonia, led by President Kiro Gligorov, and a delegation of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, led by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic.

Under this agreement, the JNA has undertaken to leave behind all its radio communications equipment, with the exception of the digital centers at Kucevo and Kumanovo which have already been dismantled. Territorial defense weapons and equipment will remain in Macedonia.

JNA officers, and civilians working for the JNA, will be able to decide within two months whether or not they want to live and work in Macedonia.

Under this agreement, the JNA has undertaken to leave behind all its equipment and installations at border posts, as well as its equipment and air traffic control at the Petrovec airfield near Skopje.

A joint commission will also be set up to consider all disputed questions, especially legal actions against military personnel, and to propose appropriate solutions.

Montenegro

Assembly Adopts Decision on 1 Mar Referendum

AU2202222292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] After a debate that lasted an entire day, the deputies of the multi-party Montenegrin parliament have just endorsed the proposed decision on calling a referendum on state and legal organization of the republic, which was announced and explained by Miodrag Vukovic, president of the Commission for Political System:

[Begin Vukovic recording] On the basis of the debate held at the session of the Assembly of the Republic of Montenegro, the commission proposes that the Assembly endorse the following text of the decision on calling a referendum with the (?accompanying) explanation:

Following from the state-forming character [drzavotvornost] of a nation and the sovereign right of citizens to freely and independently decide on the state in which they live, the Assembly of the Republic of Montenegro, on the basis of Article 561 of the Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro, at its session of 22 February 1992 endorsed a decision to call a referendum.

Number one. The referendum is called with the intention that the citizens of Montenegro first take a stand on whether they wish to continue living in a common state of equal republics.

Number two. The question on which the citizens will take a stand at the referendum reads: Do you support Montenegro, as a sovereign republic, remaining within the common state of Yugoslavia, perfectly equal with other republics that wish the same?

Number three. The referendum will be held on 1 March.

Number four. The Republican Electoral Commission will supply the final results of the referendum to the Assembly of Montenegro by 3 March.

Number five. The referendum will be carried out in a manner consistent with the procedures established by the Law on Referendum.

Number six. This decision becomes valid with the date of its endorsement. [end recording].

Muslims Fear 'Serboslavia' Referendum Results

LD2102210492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Titograd, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Muslims do not support the holding of a referendum with the wording of the question as proposed, because they say that a federal state is not a federation but a unitarian state of greater Serbia or Serboslavia in which Montenegro will soon find itself in the same predicament as Vojvodina and Kosovo, and the present disadvantageous socio-economic, political, and national position of Muslims will be considerably worsened.

This is stated in a public statement issued by the Party for Equality [Stranka Ravnopravnosti] which believes that these stands are shared by the Muslim people of Montenegro.

This party also believes that the referendum aims to preserve the political leadership of Serbia and Montenegro, because, by their inept policy, they have led the people into poverty and misery, war, and a future of total uncertainty. [passage omitted]

Opposition Demonstrations Support Independence

AU2302205492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Text] The fighters for the protection of the Serbian people in Croatia and the preservation of Yugoslavia staged a dignified meeting at Tito's Square in Cetinje today. Numerous people with patriotic feelings joined them. The speakers included Vlado Vuletic, Branko Martinovic, Djuro Vuletic, Veljko Vukotic, and others, and said: Some 30,000 people of Montenegro have been taking part in this latest war but not, as the opposition says, to kill, rob, and conquer what is not theirs. We want dignity and protection for all Yugoslav peoples, and Yugoslavia's continuity. Nearly 130 fighters from Montenegro have already died for this. They paid tribute to them in Cetinje today, and at the same time rejected the insults uttered by the opposition at their well-known Cetinje meeting for a sovereign and independent Montenegro which was held in the same place not long ago.

The united opposition held a meeting outside the Montenegrin Assembly in Titograd today. Yet another declaration on independent Montenegro was adopted. They proposed to form the opposition government in the republic, call the extraordinary elections, and adopt a new constitution.

Besides Rastko Perovic, Rado Bojovic, and Misko Vlahovic, the crowd was also addressed by General Bosko Djurickovic and the man of history, Vlado Dapcevic, as the moderator called him. In front of several thousand people they leveled numerous criticisms against the present Montenegrin and Serbian leaderships. They have called for a boycott of the referendum, and warned of, I quote, the major deceits in the sale of Montenegro. They cheered Serbianhood as their common origin, but accused [Serbian President] Milosevic and Bulatovic [president of the Montenegrin Presidency] of creating a new, greater Serbia. All this, in their opinion, resulted in the civil war now threatening to demand more victims. They seek international recognition and an independent Montenegro that would be open for an association with others.

Using a rhyme: Just say the word, comrade (?Zlatko), and we shall fly like bullets, Perovic commented on the [word indistinct] we must fly to Europe with Savicevic [not further identified], with ideas, success, peace, and unity. Montenegrins have had enough of dying and they now have the right to live. They also adopted a declaration on sovereign Montenegro together with an initiative to form an opposition government in Montenegro. They also decided that the issue of extraordinary elections and replacement of the leadership be initiated through Assembly debate.

During the meeting the need for cooperation with the like-minded parties, that is to say, the Serbian opposition, was often stressed.

A strong police squad with modern equipment and shields [pancirke] barely held back the participants of the counter demonstration held by supporters of the common state, referendum, and present Montenegrin leadership, who with slogans like Long Live Serbia and Down With Ustashas, tried to physically obstruct the opposition.

The situation was tense, but no force was used. Almost all of the numerous uniformed personnel belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Their cordon was simply impenetrable until the opposition had finished their meeting. Their political opponents, mostly Titograd workers, managed to break through the dense police cordon on the plateau outside the Assembly and onto the Assembly staircase. They expressed their support for the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists, the concept of the referendum, and creation of the third Yugoslavia, with slogans, songs, and paroles.

Ruling Party, Opposition Discuss Referendum

AU2102182092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Jagos Stojanovic report from Titograd]

[Text] At their news conferences today, the (?ruling party), opposition, and the (?believers) have reported the results of their activity during the one-month public debate on the draft referendum decision. All things considered, the government last night formulated the referendum question as follows: Do you favor Montenegro as a sovereign republic to continue to live within a joint Yugoslavia on a completely equal footing with other republics that would wish to do so? Deputies of the multiparty parliament will make a final decision tomorrow about the vote of 405,000 voters in Montenegro and about the date of the voting. The referendum will most probably be held on 1 March.

Heads of the Montenegrin opposition parties told reporters today that they will not exert pressure on the members of the parliament or provoke a state of emergency [vanredno stanje] in the republic and cause a fratricidal war. However, at the meeting of the united opposition planned to be held in Titograd the day after tomorrow, the opposition will propose a declaration in favor of a sovereign Montenegro and a new reintegration of Yugoslavia.

The committee for the reinstitution of the autocephalous orthodox church of Montenegro issued an announcement today in which it says, we quote, vote in favor of your independent state because only in that way will you be able to establish a spiritual balance, end quote.

A meeting on the proposed economic functions of the joint Yugoslav state was organized by Dr. Risto Vukcevic, president of the Montenegrin Assembly, today. The meeting was attended by Momir Bulatovic, president of the republic, and Premier Milo Djukanovic, and by all Montenegrin delegates to federal organs. The topics discussed included the unified market, monetary, customs, and foreign exchange system, development policy, and ecology. Dr. Radoje Kontic made an introductory report and the debate, which is under way, will be used by republican constitutional commissions in establishing constitutional provisions of the joint state in conformity with the recent agreements reached in Belgrade and Titograd.

Serbia

Foreign Minister on Continuity of Yugoslavia

LD2202192692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Vladislav Jovanovic today said that the continuity of Yugoslavia was not brought into question, since the peoples of two of its six republics—Serbia and Montenegro—have declared themselves for its continuity.

In an interview to the Russian agency NOVOSTI, Jovanovic recalled that these two peoples account for more than half of Yugoslavia's population.

Jovanovic also conveyed the stand of the Serbian authorities that the questions of the secession of certain republics from Yugoslavia must be resolved together and at the negotiating table.

When Croatia's secession is in question, it is imperative to secure the rights of the Serbian people living on its territory, he specified.

Jovanovic added that there are fewer disputed points regarding Slovenia's secession and that they mostly regard the settling of the economic balance and the problem of the external borders.

Jovanovic recalled that participants in the Conference on Yugoslavia, the Security Council and the United States hold a similar stand.

We expected the same of Russia, Jovanovic said and expressed surprise over Russia's recognition of Slovenia and Croatia early this month.

We expected a certain amount of patience, because the new independent states must above all be recognized by those which are part of present Yugoslavia, Jovanovic said.

Assessing that Russia's recognition of the breakaway republics was complicating the Yugoslav crisis, he, however, expressed the conviction that it could not radically spoil the traditionally friendly relations between Serbia and Russia.

Jovanovic qualified as nonsense the allegations of certain Western dailies that Serbia was the last bastion of bolshevism in Europe.

Bolshevism was imported to Serbia, and it was imported by a Croat, he said, alluding to the late many-year president of socialist Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito.

Jovanovic told NOVOSTI that Russia and Serbia plan to develop and expand their cooperation, particularly in the economic field. He said that a program of long-term bilateral cooperation would soon be signed.

Jovanovic said that Russian President Boris Yeltsin is to officially visit Serbia this year, but that the date has not been set yet.

Prime Minister on Talks With Kosovo

LD2202172592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Pristina, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Government is ready for a political dialogue with all political subjects in Kosovo-Metohija concerning everything that does not question the sovereignty of the state of Serbia, says Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic.

In his interview in the Kosovo Albanian-language ZERI newspaper of Pristina, capital of the southern Serbian province of Kosovo- Metohija, Bozovic says he is ready for a dialogue also with Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the

separatist-oriented and so-called Alternative of Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija, but within the limits of seeking political solutions within the framework of the constitution of Serbia.

The Albanian Alternative has been known for its political activity aimed at forming a Republic of Kosovo, its breaking away from Serbia and Yugoslavia, and joining Albania.

Bozovic observes that it is common knowledge that the right to subjectivity belongs only to the constituent nations, while ethnic Albanians in Kosovo make up a national minority, not because of their number but because Kosovo-Metohija is not, and has never been, a state.

"I do not know of any European country today where a national minority is entitled to seceding one part of the territory of this state and proclaiming it a state of its own," says Bozovic.

If the Albanian Alternative, however, demands talks while not recognizing the state of Serbia, then this is the sign that what is involved is not the readiness for talks and agreement, but the readiness for violence, and we shall counter violence with violence, and I do not see any other possible choice—says Bozovic.

Asked about an alleged division of Kosovo on a proposal by the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences and about the readiness of the Serbian opposition to recognize the Republic of Kosovo within a Serbian federation, Bozovic answers:

"As for whether someone from among the opposition is ready to make over Kosovo to, or split it with, Albania, I may say that no one is legally entitled to cut off part of the territory of one's state."

Concerning the question of a Republic of Kosovo within a Serbian federation, Bozovic says that there will be no Serbian federation because the citizens of Serbia are not ready for any transaction involving the state of Serbia.

Serbian Interests in Macedonia Viewed

AU2302152092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Excerpt] The Serbian national interest is indivisible, but the Serbs still do not possess a national program. This is one of the reasons why the Serbs find it difficult to resolve the difficulties they are encountering. Serbia will not abandon the Serbs who live in other republics. This was stated at today's public gathering organized by the Postojbina Non-Party Association in Pristina.

Vukasin Jokanovic, vice-president of the Serbian Assembly, said that Serbia is strategically interested in the area that is currently being called Macedonia. We cannot allow an artificial state to interrupt the historical and religious bonds between Serbia and Greece.

The current policies of the Macedonian leadership are leading the Macedonian nation into a hopeless situation, Jokanovic said. Jokanovic also said that the southern front has been open for quite some time. There have been no armed clashes, but it has been characterized by other aspects of struggle ranging from boycotts to the creation of parallel organs of authority by which the separatists are trying to seize a part of the Serbian territory.

Jokanovic believes that the southern front has been opened since 1968 and has resulted in the flight of some 100,000 Serbs from this area.

Veselin Djuretic [not further identified] said that the rest of the world should be better informed of the historical rights of the Serbian nation. Once this takes place, our interest in the coastal region [primorje] and parts of Macedonia and Croatia will no longer be interpreted as aggression, Djuretic said. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Paper Forecasts 'State Coup' in Croatia

LD2302162792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES today writes that there is a chance a state coup will soon be carried out in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

'Tensions have been growing and so have the chances of the 'hawks' (militant Croatian leaders) taking over and continuing the war against the Serbian people with the nearing of the date of the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces,' the daily writes.

Croatian President Tudjman has already begun his purges and one of those who will find himself in his disgrace will be Prime Minister Franjo Greguric. 'He will most probably be replaced by Zagreb Mayor Mladen Vedris', POLITIKA EKSPRES writes.

The daily assesses that 'Tudjman is now also in the way of German policy' and that he will probably be replaced by Mika Tripalo.

Tripalo was a Croatian communist official, whom Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito ousted in the early seventies along with a group of Croatian nationalists accusing them of nationalism.

Outcome of Milosevic's Resignation Considered

92BA0509C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Branka Mitrovic: "Persistent and Certain Collapse"]

[Text] The day before yesterday the signing of the proclamation of the Democratic Party [DS] addressed to

the public began in several centers in Serbia; this document states that Serbian policy has collapsed, but that we should not reconcile ourselves to an uncertain future as to the state, to misery and hopelessness, to the theft of public property, to the physical threat to individuals and threats to their property, nor to unemployment and deception of the public. That is why that party's main committee called for Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to submit his resignation, but, as readers can have seen for themselves, Television Serbia and the publications of the Politika Publishing House were silent about the proclamation's main provisions, because local and opstina committees of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] have priority.

"That is why this press conference," Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, said yesterday in the International Press Center, "is a kind of protest against the blockade again faced by this party, but also by the other parties. In any case, the regime in Serbia has lost all trustworthiness and credibility, and Slobodan Milosevic has not had, that is now evident, any political concept or strategy in resolving the epochal Serbian nationality questions. He flirted for months and in the end did not succeed with his policy in supporting the objective of self-determination for the Serbian people. He thereby compromised what other peoples have managed to do, and he therefore cast Serbia out of orbit and became a loser in this story of the Yugoslav war," Djindjic said.

Results of a Ruinous Policy

The results of the signing of the proclamation, for which special places in all parts of Serbia will be organized by the end of the week, will be known on 9 March, the anniversary of the big demonstrations. In answer to the question of why Milosevic's resignation is demanding right at this point and whether this is the most suitable moment, Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party, explained that this party has not reacted so decidedly earlier, because it still did not have a clear idea of what the end game of the Yugoslav crisis would be.

"The Democratic Party was against the war from the very beginning, but until the end we did not know all the consequences that would follow from it. Now they are evident, we have not been late, but neither have we been premature, because it is clear that we actually have been looking at the results of a ruinous policy," Micunovic said.

Vojislav Kostunica added that this is the first time that a proclamation of this kind has not been sent to Slobodan Milosevic himself.

"We have addressed him on several occasions. Only once, unsuccessfully, with a great deal of resistance and explanations by all manner of lawyers and experts that his appearance among the people was a matter of courtesy, did he come to the Serbian Assembly. And also on other occasions the initiatives of opposition parties to meet with him and jointly resolve certain essential problems were rejected. That is why we will no longer address Milosevic, but the Serbian public, and thereby also all political organizations and associations, which we believe will support this action of ours."

The proclamation, Djindjic added, was written in such a way that it could be signed by any patriot of the Serbian state, and the Democratic Party does not claim any copyright to it. He said that the New Democracy—Movement for Serbia and also the Reformists of Vojvodina have already joined in organizing the signing of this proclamation. In any case, he likewise feels that the demand for resignation of the president of Serbia has come at the right moment and that at this point the Democratic Party and other parties cannot be criticized for possibly having bad effects on Serbia because of the situation. On the contrary, every day Milosevic remains in that office is a pure loss for Serbia, Djindjic concluded.

Cicak in the Underground Passage

In their answers to the numerous questions of interested and numerous journalists, who also wanted to hear the views of this party on other matters, the leaders of the Democratic Party emphasized that some of their views concerning the Cyrus Vance plan about the coming of the "blue helmets" have been incorrectly presented to the public. It has been their view, they explained, that it is important to answer the question of whether the people of Krajina have the right to know what will happen to them when the UN troops leave, when that will be, and who will guarantee that real political solutions will be found for them during that period? After all, there have been varying interpretations both in Zagreb and in Belgrade and in Krajina itself, and that is why it was necessary to clear up these uncertainties and numerous interpretations. Had that not occurred, the war would have flared up again, Micunovic said, and if anyone is suspicious, he added, for asking a question like that, then whoever called him suspicious is certainly out of line. Djindjic said that he does not think it would be wise at this point to make a truncated Yugoslavia with the present balance of power, i.e., on what amounts to a merry-go-round of frivolous political options, and Desimir Tosic concluded that the reputation of Serbia in the world and in Europe has never been on such a low level, and that only "with Slobodan Milosevic is there no uncertainty in this respect." It was also stated that the Democratic Party has no list of leaders in reserve should Milosevic consent to leave power, and that the president of the DS would be a candidate for that office if the main committee of his party so decides. Micunovic responded to that by saying that he had been offered the position of one of the vice presidents of the Serbian Assembly, but that he had not wanted to take such a courtesy post. He also denied the statement of Ivan Zvonimir Cicak that he had had exhaustive political discussions in recent days with him and others.

"In the underground passage on Terazije, I met Cicak by accident in the company of Jovan Raskovic. We introduced ourselves, that was the first time I ever saw him in my life, and I asked him how it was possible to breathe in independent Croatia? After that, I left, and if Cicak says that we talked, we are perhaps dealing with his specific conception of politics," the DS president said.

[Box, p 6]

Reproaches of Milosevic

In answer to the question of what the Democratic Party specifically has against the official authorities and Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the DS asked with a laugh—And what is it that someone who puts such a question does not hold against them?

"They promised that Serbia would be transformed into a democratic society. That has not happened, and the national program that was presented has also been betrayed. That is, they gave up seeking a federation and swore that the Serbian people must not be broken into three parts. Citizens were also promised prosperity, yet the standard of living has fallen more than 50 percent, inflation is almost 10 times higher, foreign exchange savings have been stolen, the corruption of members of the SPS in office who are opening firms abroad has been demonstrated, the national wealth is being seized and carried away, the status of the refugees has not been resolved. The government does not want even to talk about all of this in the parliament, and so we feel that the people of Serbia must have its say," Micunovic said.

[Box, p 6]

Of What There Is No Question

"The newspaper POLITIKA, in an article entitled 'Advocating Serbia's Present Borders,' after 9 February, when we adopted the Declaration in the party's main committee, scandalously omitted from the Declaration of the Democratic Party in Serbia that portion that pertains to Serbs outside Serbia. I must say that there is no question of the Democratic Party thinking that Serbia should turn its back on them, and we feel that this was not done accidentally. On the one hand, they are attacking us for collaborating with Babic, while on the other they are saying that we are renouncing the Serbs outside Serbia. The Serbian government has its hand in that game," Zoran Djindjic said.

Vojvodina Politics Affects Infrastructure

92BA0495A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 92 pp 24-25

[Article by Boro Lazukic and Dimitrije Boarov: "Disaster on the Northern Front"]

[Text] Serbian power in Vojvodina has never been worse off than it is now. For the first time since the war, Vojvodina's land has not been plowed, the corn has not been harvested, the beets have not been dug, and we are not referring to fields near the front, but even in Banat. In Apatin, right now there is a panic because they have been trying for five days now to "surround" a group of Croatian terrorists. Croats from Slankamen and Beska are moving, and those in Subotica have been driven "underground." It is estimated that about 25,000 young Hungarians have fled to Hungary to avoid the large-scale mobilization. Purveyors of food are embittered by the first steps of the Bozovic anti-inflationary policy and the stifling system of decrees on trade with other republics. Pensioners, physicians, teachers, and professors are frightened by the departure of all funds to Belgrade, the courts are not being compensated, the sick do not have medicine. The Montenegrins who run Vojvodina's cultural institutions are becoming advocates of autonomy. The policy of war and Serbism above all else has led Vojvodina to disaster.

A Civil Party

A political grouping of the liberal center—until recently the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina—has spotted its chance in that kind of situation. This grouping, headed by Dr. Dragoljub Petrovic, physics professor at Novi Sad University, seems to have withstood best the fiercest pressures during the war in Croatia and is now attempting to capitalize on a position it took back in August of last year—in favor of peace, bringing international military forces into Yugoslavia, and establishment of a new association as an alliance of sovereign republics. Today, everyone is courting it, because out of 46 members of the provincial committee it lost only five during this past year of general political confusion and demoralization. It covers 36 of about 50 Vojvodina opstinas, and its deputies Tibor Varadi, Momcilo Grubac, and Petar Petrovic have secured it a good reputation throughout Serbia. They sensed that their moment had come, and now they are trying, above all through cooperation with the Democratic Party of Serbia, to "wash off" from themselves the burden left them by the propaganda against Ante Markovic and Ivan Djuric. They are changing the name to the Democratic Reform Party of Vojvodina [RDSV], and they are showing independence and great ambitions.

We have before our eyes Bosnia and the disastrous results of all the parties with an exclusively ethnic orientation, says Dr. Damir Kakas, professor of mechanical engineering and a top official of this party. We are setting up ourselves as a civil party, the only kind which has a real chance in interethnic Vojvodina, Kakas adds. And he explains that they are opting for autonomy within Serbia—but this time one that is different from the one Kosovo needs.

In their updated program, the Vojvodina Reformists seek free elections, a new constitution of Serbia, a bicameral parliament (with a citizens' chamber and a chamber for regional units). We are absolutely against a policy of centralization in Serbia, and we feel, Kakas says, that that policy leads to disaster. Vojvodina needs

a clear autonomy, different from the one in Kosovo, because our province can be a locomotive for Serbia's development only if it is seen as a European region with an obvious definition, a region which can be a link between Serbia and Europe. Serbia should make use of the experience of Vojvodina, which must have economic independence in order to put to economic use its resources and man-made potential and cultural autonomy as an essential precondition for ethnic equality. In the new founding assembly, therefore, Damir Kakas says, we are adopting Theses of Minimal Rights of Yugoslav Citizens who are in a minority position (which is actually a study by Dr. Tibor Varadi, which last fall received high marks even in European professional circles). The extent to which the Reformists have suddenly become important is also demonstrated by the fact that the highest representatives of all the leading opposition parties of Serbia came to their new founding assembly. (Is an opposition coalition beginning to be cooked up in Novi Sad?)

Political forces which have a radical view concerning Vojvodina's autonomy are also trying to take advantage of the utter collapse of the policy of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] in the province. When the opportunity arose of revitalizing Vojvodina's autonomy at the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia last fall, the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina/Yugoslavia [LSVJ], led by the popular Nenad Canak, began in early November to outline its Memorandum on Vojvodina (adopted in that party on 23 December of last year).

Canak and Berisavljevic

The Memorandum on Vojvodina calls for it to be a confederal unit within the framework of a confederal Serbia. It adds that if Serbia does not accept Vojvodina as an equal confederal unit, the demand must be made for an "independent and self-sufficient Vojvodina, as a neutral and open territory with appropriate international status and guarantees," and its demilitarization is demanded in every alternative. Canak, the defiant leader of this political group, also adds on every occasion that Vojvodina must be established "in its historical borders above the Sava and Danube, including return of the territories taken away."

Even the organization of Zika Berisavljevic, former party official—the Panethnic Democratic Front of Vojvodina—has felt that the northern province is stirred up, and he says in his press release that "he wholeheartedly joins in the current initiative of the natively Vojvodina and other democratic parties and forces for the nationalities and citizens of Vojvodina to decisively take the destiny of the province in their own hands."

Sipovac and Agoston

The Vojvodina branch of the SPS seems to be avoiding the topic of autonomy and its unfortunate end, and is directing all forces into the fight against Andras Agoston and his DZVM [Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians], which is attracting more and more Hungarians in Vojvodina (there are about 300,000 of them in all). Nedeljko Sipovac, that party's local chief, thus recently warned Agoston that Serbia will defend its borders and is sufficiently strong to do so. Sipovac notes that Hungary has territorial claims and for that reason is working to weaken Serbia and upset interethnic relations in Serbia through the "extremist DZVM," spreading the idea of the Hungarians supposedly being threatened in Vojvodina. SPS activists are more and more frequently linking Agoston, Canak, and Vuk Draskovic in their speeches about "subversive activity." One has declared that first they will see what to do with Draskovic and "afterward we will see what to do with Agoston." Others say that Agoston and Canak should not show themselves in this city anymore, "because no one can guarantee their security." (Soon after that, the pair came back, and day dawned to find this graffito in the heart of the city—"We have been here—Canak—LSVJ.")

The kind of unfortunate and tense confusion that prevails now in Vojvodina is also demonstrated by the case in Subotica of 97 crosses being turned upside down on graves in the Orthodox cemetery in Dudova Suma a few weeks ago, which received quite a bit of play. After this case of vandalism was given booming coverage on TV Novi Sad, the Subotica police department issued a press release that it had identified three minors, heavy metal fans belonging to the group "Satanism," whose symbol is the upside-down cross, so that the kids "were playing." This is not, of course, a harmless game, because Vojvodina is no longer a country of "harmless Rubes."

Slovenia

Genscher Meets With Slovene Leaders

LD2302150592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 23 FEB 92

[TEXT] Ljubljana, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had talks in Ljubljana today with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, Foreign Minister Dr Dimitrij Rupel, and Assembly President Dr France Bucar.

In the afternoon the German foreign minister, who is on a one-day visit to Slovenia, will have talks with President Milan Kucan, and Dr Alojzij Sustar, the archbishop of Ljubljana.

It is planned that prior to his departure from Ljubljana today, Genscher will give a news conference.

Announces Support for Republic

LD2302160192 Hamburg DPA in German 1510 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Ljubljana (DPA)—During his one-day visit to Slovenia German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today announced large-scale support by Germany for Slovenia's membership of European and international organizations.

Following his meeting with Slovene President Milan Kucan, Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, and Foreign Minister Dimtrij Rupel, Genscher told journalists that it is urgently necessary to begin negotiations with Slovenia and Croatia on an association treaty with the EC. The two states should also become members of the United Nations and international financial organizations.

Following talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb last night Genscher said that Tudjman had, without reservation, accepted the UN conditions for the stationing of a UN peacekeeping force in the crisis areas of Yugoslavia.

In response to a question from a journalist on how he evaluated the criticism that Germany demonstrated a desire for domination in its Yugoslav policies, Genscher said during his visit to Slovenia that German policies are committed to the right to self- determination and sovereignty of peoples which comes from the CSCE charter and which is the opposite to a desire to dominate. "We are not a political superpower and we do not want to be one," Genscher stressed. He is committed to the development of European union.

Furthermore, Genscher announced that Germany will strongly commit itself to CSCE membership for the two new states in the preparation phase for the next CSCE conference of foreign ministers in Helsinki. "It is unacceptable if Belgrade objects to that," he said. At the same time Genscher spoke in favor of offering other states which emerged from Yugoslavia EC association treaties and CSCE membership if desired. This is necessary for these states in order to successfully implement their economic and political changes and to include them in Europe's development.

On behalf of the Slovenian Government, Foreign Minister Rupel praised Germany's role in Slovenia's European integration. Bilateral relations are already very intensive due to contacts between expert groups. Rupel announced Slovenia's continued participation in the European peace conference for Yugoslavia which is also trying to find the legal successor to Yugoslavia.

Rupel, Genscher Give News Conference

AU2302164292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Report on news conference by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Drago Flis in Ljubljana on 23 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] Before I assess my visit to Slovenia, I would like to say that I have been pleasantly moved by my first visit to the independent, autonomous, sovereign, and democratic Slovenia. I passed the greetings of the German leadership to the Slovene leadership. Germany hopes that Slovenia will find its way out of its troubles as soon as possible, and particularly that Slovenia will successfully tackle its economic problems, said German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

We also talked about the place Slovenia should be given within the community of European states. Germany believes that Slovenia should be given its place within the CSCE process, as well as in all international organizations. In Prague we supported the initiative for Slovenia and Croatia to be granted full membership. We think it impossible for anyone to object to their membership, as we believe that both of these newly independent states should under no circumstances continue to be excluded from European and world processes.

We will support Slovenia in its bid for membership in the CSCE and in international political and financial institutions. Genscher particularly stressed the International Monetary Fund.

Regarding relations between Slovenia and the EC, Genscher believes that the most suitable form would through the so-called European Accord. This is the agreement for those east European countries that have already overcome socialism and are now preparing to join the EC in the distant future. The EC has already signed this type of agreement with Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel also spoke of the strategy for Slovene integration into Europe and German support for it:

[Rupel] [passage omitted] During the talks with Mr. Genscher we stressed that Slovenia intends to continue playing an active role at the EC peace conference on Yugoslavia that is being held in Brussels and contribute toward the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. In doing so we stressed, and I wish to stress this again, most firmly, that Slovenia wants to be objective in the Croatian-Serbian conflict and that Slovenia also wants to be objective in regard to all other controversial and ongoing issues such as human rights, the protection of ethnic minorities, and so forth. We shall adopt the international documents and generally accepted standards in this field, the CSCE standards, for instance, as our basic criteria.

We also stressed that Slovenia will continue to insist at the peace conference that the problem of succession to the former Yugoslavia be incorporated in the conference as one of the key issues on which we must reach agreement. We emphasized that succession is actually the basic issue to be resolved by the conference.

[Flis] Genscher also responded to journalists' questions. Concerning German treatment of Slovenia and Croatia, he said that there are certain differences as well as certain common points. Germany supports both countries, however. In the efforts to sign the European Accord, Germany would, of course, also support other former Yugoslav republics that would wish to do so. [passage omitted]

So far there are no controversial issues in German-Slovene relations. Asked about the German-speaking population in Slovenia, Genscher answered that he was briefly informed of this matter by Austrian Foreign Minister Mock, but that he did not initiate discussion of this subject during this visit.

Finance Minister on SFRY Foreign Currency Debts

LD2102121592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Slovene Finance Minister Dusan Sesok today declared that Slovenia had clearly stated to the "Paris Club"—which includes all the most developed countries in the world—that it was in favor of every republic from the former Yugoslavia taking over the payment of debts whose users were known. As for the payment of loans which cannot be located and which were taken out by Yugoslavia, Slovenia is prepared to participate in their repayment in a corresponding proportion, but only on condition that Slovenia also participates in the divison of Yugoslavia's foreign currency reserves which, according to Sesok, are falling very rapidly. Sesok thinks that the reserves have been reduced to 2.5 billion dollars from last year's 9 billion dollars. Slovenia also demands that until there is a final agreement on Yugoslavia the international partners should freeze all foreign currency reserves in all accounts of the National Banks of Yugoslavia abroad.

Foreign Minister Rupel Leaves for PRC, Japan

LD2302194192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1901 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 February (TANJUG)—Dr Dimitrij Rupel, minister of foreign affairs of Slovenia, today left for a visit to China and Japan. The visit will last several days.

In China Rupel will have talks in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade and with representatives of Slovene enterprises in China.

In Japan he will have talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe, representatives of various firms, and also with Hide Suzuki, president of the Yugoslav-Japanese Committee.

Ministers Say Resignation 'Unfeasible'

LD2202102492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The three ministers in the Slovene Government whose resignation is demanded by Prime Minister Lojze Peterle qualified this request as "unfeasible and without basis."

Slovene Internal Affairs Minister Igor Bavcar, Information Minister Jelko Kacin, and Foreign Affairs Minister Dimitrij Rupel also consider that the prime minister did not "understand well" the recent voting in the Assembly of the republic which shows that Peterle no longer enjoys the confidence of the majority of deputies.

Without questioning the right of the prime minister to propose a motion of no confidence in the ministers, Bavcar, Kacin and Rupel are warning that this is a decision for the parties to make too. The three ministers, otherwise quite popular among the Slovene public, point out that the results of the work of their departments are important too. According to their belief, which is not shared by Prime Minister Peterle, the results are quite good.

Drnovsek To Seek LDS Party Presidency

AU2202220492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Excerpts] The Liberal Democratic Party [LDS] wishes to enter the new elections with a stronger membership and an improved program. This was a conclusion of the LDS Council at today's meeting in Velenje. The council endorsed the proposed program documents and the list of candidates for the pre-electoral party congress to be held in Ljubljana in March.

The LDS proposed Dr. Janez Drnovsek as the only candidate for party president. Miran Korosec reports:

[Begin Korosec recording] Some parties are trying to consolidate their positions before the new elections through internal purges and divisions. We were told today that the LDS, however, has decided differently. They intend to keep the party together and strengthen its position by attracting new members, especially prominent personalities who have so far been politically undecided or are displeased with their present parties—the people who will bring maximum possible amount of votes to the LDS at the elections.

The negotiations lasted a long time, but were, according to party President Jozef Skolc, successful because they succeeded in getting Drnovsek on their side. Drnovsek also agreed to run for party president. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek did not attend the meeting. This afternoon he joined the members of the Council for lunch in Velenje. We reporters were, of course, most interested in why, after such a long hesitation, that is to say, thinking for so long about his party orientation, Drnovsek decided on the LDS:

[Drnovsek] I think that this a promising party. This party has been supporting me for quite a long time. We are very close in regard to programs. The talks on this issue lasted for quite a while, and it seems to me that linking myself to this party could represent a successful link between, if I may say so, youth and experiencs.

[Korosec] Skolc and Drnovsek both firmly dismissed the speculations that the LDS move is related to the government crisis, that is to say, that Drnovsek intends to run for the post of foreign minister. [passage omitted] [end recording]